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PRELIMINARY DRAFT FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION

633 a, b

Pisano, Nicola (d'Apulia) (c. 1205-c. 1278)

Pulpit (Finished in 1260)

Marble. H. c. 15 ft.

Pisa, Baptistery

As a study of Giotto is necessary for an understanding of the genesis of Italian Renaissance painting, so one should become familiar with Nicola Pisano as a preparation for the study of Italian Renaissance sculpture. It is significant that some forty years separated these two artists' periods of activity: on through the Renaissance the development of sculpture kept ahead of painting.

Nicola has been a hard problem for critics. The much disputed question of his origin has finally been quite definitely settled; he was not of Pisan birth, but came from Apulia, in southern Italy. But just how to classify him as to style is still puzzling. There is much that is Romanesque in his work - the short, stout stature of his figures, with their heavy draperies. There are hints of the Gothic, particularly in the cusped arches and trefoil ornaments of his architectural settings. And there is an interest in classical art and in nature that has led some critics to classify his art as a premature budding of the Renaissance.

The pulpit in the baptistery at Pisa is signed beneath the relief of the Last Judgment: HOC OPVS INSIGNE SCVLPSIT NICOLA PISANVS. It was finished in 1260, when Nicola was about fifty-five years old. It seems possible that up till that time he had been principally occupied with architecture. The plan of S. Domenico in Siena is ascribed to him; he may have built S. Trinita in Florence; and it is possible also that he had a share in the planning of the new cathedral at Siena in 1245. His architectural interest is manifested in the designs of the backgrounds of some of the reliefs as well as in the form of the pulpit itself. In the architecture of the pulpit we see a mixture of Romanesque and Gothic: beneath the heavy Romanesque cornice the trefoil arches come as a surprise, but they are still heavy, not delicate and lace-like as in more mature Gothic, and there is nothing yet of the Gothic emphasis of the perpendicular. There is, however, a suggestion of Gothic freedom in the foliate capitals.

Nicola's classical and Gothic tendencies do not represent a distinct innovation. Interest in classical art was growing in both southern and northern Italy. In the south, where Nicola grew up, he must have known something of the classical revival under Frederick II, of which we have a memento in the busts from the arch of Capua (cf. nos. 284, 285). For Gothic suggestions he need not have looked outside of Pisa, or, indeed, beyond the baptistery itself, in the carved ornament of which he could see Gothic details.

Neither is the form of the pulpit original with Nicola. There were polygonal pulpits in Apulia and also in Tuscany; its choice in the present case may have been influenced by the central plan of the baptistry in which the pulpit stands and to which its polygonal shape conforms. Lions had been used before to support the columns both of pulpits and of doorways. The treatment of the base beneath the center column is new: formerly one human figure had supported it; now three human figures, alternating with three animals (eagle, lion, and dog), placed around the six-sided base, give a much more ornamental effect. In general, the whole pulpit is more ornamental than earlier examples. Not only is there a much larger number of figures used in its decoration, but color plays a large part in giving variety and richness. Variously colored marble is used for the columns, where gray-green alternates with red-violet and brown-red; and the reliefs above are framed by clusters of dark red-violet columns at the sides and bands of the same color above and below. The reliefs themselves were originally colored, especially in such details as hair, eyes, and draperies, and traces of color are still discernible in their backgrounds.

The subjects of the reliefs are: the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Crucifixion, and Last Judgment. The last two subjects were new in the cycle of scenes used to decorate pulpits. The Last Judgment was represented here for the first time in Tuscan sculpture. In

Lombardy Benedetto Antelami had given a more meager sculptural version of the subject a half century earlier for the Parma baptistery (cf. No. 290). What has always attracted most comment in Nicola's reliefs is their obvious classical borrowings: for details such as the Virgin in the scene of the Nativity and the horses in the Adoration of the Magi we can ourselves see the models on pieces of Roman sculpture that are still in the Campo Santo at Pisa, notably a sarcophagus and a vase. The High Priest and the boy that supports him in the Presentation panel (no. 633b), for example, are but a revision of the group of Bacchus supported by a satyr on the vase. We have a similar group on the Hellenistic relief of the Visit of Dionysus to a poet (no. 151). Nicola has clothed the satyr and made the drapery of the bearded figure heavier and stiffer. The old face, too, is more expressive, and the left hand is modeled with far more naturalism and character than on the vase. Hannah, who stands just in front of the High Priest, is believed likewise to have been inspired by a figure on one of the pieces in the Campo Santo. We may be sure, though, that Nicola had other sources of classical inspiration than those still to be seen in the Campo Santo. Those are more mediocre examples than the quality of his work points to.

The conflicting tendencies of Nicola's style are always evident: classical menumentality is best served by generalization of expression and simplicity of composition. Yet into the face of even the calm, Juno-like Virgin of the Presentation scene Nicola, with his almost Renaissance interest in individual expression, has put an intent, anxious look, and the Zeus-like head of Simeon, who holds the Christ Child, is as tortured as Michelangelo's Moses (cf. no. 678). The head that rises above Joseph is, again, individualized, so strongly that some have thought it must be a portrait of the artist, but it seems probable that it, as well as the Hannah, was inspired by a sarcophagus relief. Multiplication of figures, inimical to classical effect, is likewise evident in the Presentation relief. Only five figures are necessary and commonly represented, those that Nicola has placed, together with the High Priest, across the foreground in a composition that would be fine even if all the rest of the detail of the panel were blotted out. Nicola's addition of all those other heads behind is not to be explained negatively, by a horror vacui, but positively, by a delight in the representation of a variety of faces. Nicola apparently carved the heads and some of the hands himself; the inferior modeling of many of the hands and most of the draperies indicates the collaboration of assistants.

Nicola's tendency to multiply figures and his difficulty in reconciling individual expression with classical generalization are still more evident in the scene of the Crucifixion, where the Virgin and the women with her are quite devoid of expression, and St. John only succeeds in making a grimace. The body of Christ is noble and quite free from Gothic twisting. The Last Judgment, where there are nearly seventy figures, including the animals, is the most complicated of the scenes; even there certain details may be found on Roman models to which Nicola had access: the head of one of the devils, for example, is copied from the representation of a mask.

Below the reliefs, in the spandrels between the arches, are prophets, evangelists, and Old Testament kings, while personifications of the virtues stand at the angles.

The figures at the base of the pulpit are possibly to be interpreted as guardians of the orthodox faith. Lions have traditionally served as symbols of protection. The animals that lie peacefully beneath their feet symbolize orthodox beliefs. Possibly the figures around the base of the central column are likewise to be interpreted as guardians.

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Pisano, Nicola (d'Apulia) (c. 1205-c. 1278) and Pupils

Pulpit (1265-1269)

Marble. H. c. 15 ft.

Siena, Cathedral

Burckhardt called the pulpit in the baptistery at Pisa (no. 633) a historical curiosity. Four of its reliefs fall out of the normal development of

Italian art; only in the scene of the Last Judgment did Nicola do what we might have expected. That relief is the key to his mature style and to the style of his son and later Italian sculptors. The time was not yet ripe for a revival of classical art; the Gothic style had first to run its course. It must be admitted that Nicola himself looked upon classical art as a fascinating curiosity rather than as a thing of which he had a sympathetic understanding. He tried to combine the details that he took from ancient sculpture with his own realistic, intimate passages, and the result is not entirely harmonious.

He seems to have recognized the incompatibility of the two styles, and in the Siena pulpit the classical imitation is abandoned. A transition between the two pulpits is formed by the shrine of St. Dominic at Bologna (no. 698), Nicola's work on which was finished before he had done much on the Siena pulpit. At Siena the sparsely figured compositions of most of the reliefs on the Pisan pulpit have given place to crowded panels, so crowded that here and there the figures break through the enframing cornice. The relief fields are no longer sharply divided by columns; figures crowd the angles, too, so that, in spite of the fact that there is one large figure at each angle, the accompanying figures, on a scale approximating that in the relief panels, lead over into those fields so that the effect is more nearly that of a continuous frieze. The pulpit has become more elaborate in every respect. It appears even more elaborate now than originally, for the richly carved spiral stairway is a later addition. On the other hand, the color that originally enlivened the sculpture has disappeared save for a few slight traces. The columns are of variously colored marbles, as in the Pisa pulpit. The Siena monument is octagonal instead of hexagonal, consequently there are two more reliefs than at Pisa. One of these is occupied by the Last Judgment, which has spread into two fields; the other represents the Slaughter of the Innocents. The very subject of the new relief is an indication of Nicola's growing interest in movement and dramatic expression as opposed to the monumentality of classical art. And throughout the reliefs, even in the same subjects that had appeared in the Pisan pulpit, there is much more movement and expression. In the Presentation (no. 633b), for example, of the earlier work, the figures are more like statues in the round, each treated independently. At Siena a more logical relief style has been developed, with an indication of relationship between the figures. They seem conscious of each other's presence; they even converse with one another, as, for example, the two figures just above Simeon in the Presentation scene. It has been plausibly suggested that these two figures are portraits of Nicola and his son Giovanni. They have an undoubted portrait-like quality; nothing so individual can be found in other Italian sculpture of this early date. These figures stand beside a building that is probably the Pisan baptistery as it originally appeared, thus indicating the Pisan citizenship of the two sculptors. A little further to the left a man points toward them, a device not uncommonly used in Italian art to designate the author of a work (Filippo Lippi is thus singled out by an angel in the great Coronation that he painted for the nuns of S. Ambrogio, no. 779).

The Presentation panel at Siena has been made to accommodate several scenes; besides the Presentation, the Decree of Herod, the Dream of Joseph, and the Flight into Egypt are here represented, with nothing to separate one scene from another. In the panel of the Nativity we see also the Visitation, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Bathing of the Babe. Even in the finest of the series, the Adoration of the Magi, the Kings appear twice, first <u>en route</u> to Bethlehem, and then in the presence of the Virgin and Jesus. The variety of movement in this relief always excites admiration. The nine horses are arranged in as many different poses; most remarkable is the one in the upper left corner, shown from the rear in effective, if not altogether perfect, foreshortening. Dogs bark at the horses and camels, two of the Magi converse as they ride forward, and their attendants that follow are engrossed in a discussion. Particularly charming is the little scene in which the Magi approach the divine Child on their knees, one bending to kiss the little foot, a motive which appears here for the first time perhaps. The whole panel is infused with an intimate, poetic charm far removed from the monumental reserve of the juxtaposed figures that Nicola borrowed from classical art for his earlier Adoration scene at Pisa.

The substitution of figures for columns between the reliefs, together with the increase in the number of angles of the pulpit, meant a considerable increase in the number of single figures. As on the Pisan pulpit, personifications of the virtues are placed over the supporting columns, but there is more variety among them and they are accompanied by angels or genii. In the spandrels are six prophets, the four evangelists, a sibyl, and a male figure

that has not been definitely classified. Between the reliefs at the top of the pulpit are a variety of figures, a sibyl, a prophet, the Virgin and Child, groups of trumpeting angels, and the Trinity. The column supports are similar to those at Pisa, though alternating with lions standing over horse-like animals are lionesses feeding their young. These lionesses with their young may have reference to the mediaeval legend in bestiaries of lionesses giving birth to dead offspring that after three days the lions bring to life with their roaring, thus symbolizing the raising of Christ from the dead after three days by the voice of God. Around the middle column are personifications of the seven liberal arts, grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, with philosophy, that, according to the mediaeval concept, presides over them and comprehends them. Like the lioness symbolism just mentioned, this relationship between the arts and philosophy is probably derived from France. A number of other details of the pulpit are traceable to France, as the conceptions of Christ and the Virgin at the angles between the reliefs. Christ triumphing over Antichrist (symbolized by a lion), death (basilisk), the devil (dragon), and sin (adder), as described in Psalms xci, 13, is found in French prototypes, as the Beau Dieu at Amiens (no. 325). And the Madonna appears here and in the Bologna shrine (no. 698) practically as a free-standing statue, for the first time in Italian art (there are free-standing statues of the Madonna extant attributable to Nicola; a small but good one belongs to Mrs. Edsel B. Ford, Detroit; another in the Blumenthal collection, New York, is more likely the work of pupils of Nicola), though such statues were already common in France; a good parallel for Nicola's Madonna is on the cathedral at Amiens (no. 328). Nicola might have felt no little French influence in Italy, but it is proable that he had visited France.

The problem of Nicola's exact share in the Siena pulpit is much disputed. Because the style is so different from the main part of the Pisan work, some would attribute most of the Siena work to the son, Giovanni, who we know had some share at least in it. But Giovanni was still very young at this time. Moreover, the last relief of the Pisan pulpit shows a beginning of the style that dominates at Siena and that may reasonably be looked upon as Nicola's normal style, while his interest in the classical may be considered abnormal. It seems safe to assign to Nicola the design of the whole pulpit, the execution of most of the single figures (except those in the spandrels and the personifications of the liberal arts and philosophy around the base of the central column) and of most of the heads and nude figures in the reliefs - the execution of practically the whole relief of the Adoration of the Magi is so fine as to be attributable to him. The execution of minor details, such as hands and draperies, was probably done by his assistants, who are mentioned in documents as Arnolfo, Lapo, Donato, and Nicola's son, Giovanni. Nicola, rather than Giovanni, would then be considered the great innovator in Italian sculpture. The importance of the Sienese pulpit in the history of art is thus picturesquely stated by an old writer: "From the pulpit the first Sienese and Florentine sculptors issued, like the Greeks from the Trojan horse."

The latest work that we know by Nicola Pisano is the fountain that is partly visible in our photograph of the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia (no. 625). It marks the reappearance after the Dark Ages of the public monumental fountain in Italy. According to its principal inscription, it was finished in 1278; it was probably begun around 1274. Nicola and Giovanni Pisano are named as the authors of the upper, small basin and Giovanni alone as author of the lower, larger one. Arnolfo, according to records, was called to help on the work in 1277, but his name does not occur in the inscriptions. It is impossible to divide the work precisely between these three, especially since the sculpture is much weathered. But the choice of a polygonal shape as for the two pulpits and the similarity of the figure types to the sculpture of these pulpits suggest that Nicola was the designer of the general architectural form and of much of the sculpture. He probably executed a number of the twenty-four figures around the small basin, though the rough carving demanded by the out-of-door location is not like the fine finish of the pulpit figures.

Pisano, Giovanni (c. 1250- p. 1317)

Pulpit (1298-1301)

Marble. H. c. 15 ft.

Pistoia, S. Andrea

Giovanni Pisano first appears in art annals as the assistant of his father, Nicola d'Apulia, on the pulpit at Siena, that was finished in 1269. The meager daily pay received by Giovanni indicates that he was then a dependent pupil, probably less than twenty years old. Between this period and that of his next recorded activity -- the collaboration in the Perugia fountain (c. 1274-1278) - it is reasonable to assume that he made a sojourn in France, which the style of his later work presupposes. In 1278 he commenced his work on the Campo Santo at Pisa, which was not yet finished in 1292. In 1284 he undertook also the direction of the work on the Siena cathedral, with which he was still busy in 1299. From 1299 till 1308 he was capomaestro of the cathedral of Pisa, and he finished his great pulpit for that cathedral in 1311. It is from this last great work, long dismembered but recently reconstructed, that three pilaster fragments from the collection of John Ruskin, now in the Metropolitan Museum, probably derive. There are two with trumpeting angels and one with three symbols of evangelists, the man of Matthew with the ox of Luke and the lion of Mark. The trumpeters were probably at the sides of the relief of the Last Judgment; the evangelistic symbols would have been completed by the eagle of St. John holding the reading desk at one of the angles of the pulpit. Giovanni also executed single pieces of sculpture for his native city, as the Madonna that still stands above the main door of the baptistery (no. 579).

There is little in the art of Giovanni Pisano that does not derive from the style of his father. But in the process of derivation much change has taken place. Nicola had been much concerned with form, as his interest in classical art presupposes. Giovanni was willing to sacrifice form for the sake of momentary expression, which of all things is most opposed to the monumental requirements of classical art. In this we have the essential distinction between classical and Gothic art, the one monumental and formal, the other intimate and expressive.

Giovanni's pulpit at Pistoia is patterned after Nicola's two pulpits at Pisa and Siena. It is hexagonal, like the pulpit at Pisa, and has all the divisions that we find in that example. The columns are all of red marble. The middle one rests on a pedestal composed of eagles and griffins. The figures on which the alternate exterior columns rest are a lioness feeding her young, a lion with a calf, and a crouching man. The cusped arches between the columns are more pointed, more Gothic than in Nicola's pulpits. The prophets and the two kings in the spandrels of the arches count for more in the total effect than do the corresponding figures at Pisa and Siena. They are carved in very high relief, almost in the round, and they seem to be conscious of what is going on in the scenes above them, as if they were invisible witnesses of the events which they had prophesied. The two kings are Solomon and David, ancestors of Christ. At the angles between the arches are sibyls, each accompanied by a little angel. The anticipation by these sibyls of Michelangelo's sibyls on the Sistine ceiling has frequently been noted. The variety of attitudes, each time expressive of prophetic vision, was equaled and surpassed only by the great Renaissance master.

Just above the arches an inscription running all the way round the pulpit makes a decorative cornice and also gives us all essential data concerning the work. It gives the year of completion (1301), then the names of the three donors, and finally the name of the artist (Giovanni), of his father (Nicola), and his birthplace (Pisa).

Below the inscription the sculptures of the spandrels and the angles are dedicated to the pre-Christian period, to the period of seeking and waiting for the Messiah. Above the inscription the scenes of the reliefs and the figures on the angles are dedicated to the fulfillment, to the coming of the Lord, and the story of His life. On the angles are a young priest; Christ triumphing over Antichrist, death, the devil, and sin; St. Andrew (?);

evangelistic symbols; a group of three holy men; trumpet-blowing angels. The reliefs represent the Nativity, which includes also the Annunciation to the Virgin and the Annunciation to the Shepherds; the Adoration of the Magi, including the Dream of the Magi and the Dream of Joseph; the Slaughter of the Innocents; The Crucifixion; and the Last Judgment. The style of the reliefs is much closer to that of the reliefs at Siena than to the style of those at Pisa; for the compositions are crowded with small figures. But there is much more movement than at Siena even; everywhere there is an exaggerated animation of poses and an intensity of expression far exceeding anything in the father's work. There are realistic touches, such as the motive of the nurse testing the water in the scene of the Nativity. But the bodies and the features are, in general, less realistic than in Nicola's work. They are purposely distorted to attain great expressiveness.

Iconographically, Giotto was much indebted to Giovanni Pisano, but stylistically Giotto found Nicola more congenial.

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Nicola di Nuto (?) (c. 1290-1347?)

Creation of Adam and Eve: Detail of Genesis Pillar of Façade (c. 1320)

Stone. H. of this Detail, c. 3 ft.

Orvieto, Cathedral

As cathedral architect, at the end of the thirteenth century Giovanni Pisano imposed his style upon the sculptors of Siena. The sculptures of the façade of the Siena cathedral (no. 608) echo his style throughout. He seems to have been so tyrannical that no independent sculptor could work in the city. All the important works of Tino di Camaino, for example, fulfilled commissions that came from elsewhere. And Nicola di Nuto devoted almost his entire activity to Orvieto and Perugia. Even he showed the influence of Giovanni in his early work, but he soon grew away from it; one would scarcely think of Giovanni at all in connection with the façade reliefs on the cathedral at Orvieto.

The authorship of these reliefs is much disputed. It has been customary to try to distinguish at least two hands in the work and to give the principal share to Lorenzo Maitani, a Sienese who was cathedral architect from about 1310 till his death in 1330. Recently this theory has been discredited and Lorenzo Maitani's share has been cut down till the most that remains to him of the sculptures is a general indication of them on architectural plans for the façade as these plans appear in the earlier of two extant drawings. Maitani was too busy with various construction commissions of which we have record to have had time to do much of the sculpture. What little evidence we have points toward Nicola di Nuto as the author. This Nicola was employed as sculptor for the cathedral at a salary that indicates important and independent work. He was held in such high esteem that he was subsequently appointed to succeed Maitani as capomaestro of the cathedral. The reliefs of the pillars of the façade, however, were all presumably executed before Maitani's death, in the decade between 1320 and 1330.

The style of the sculpture is very different from that of Giovanni Pisano's work. Animated action is common to both. But instead of the tortured movement in the pulpit at Pistoia (no. 635), the movement is here graceful and rhythmic. In the beautiful, decorative swing of the drapery folds, in the delicate profiles, in the air of preciousness in many of the figures, as the angels fly into the creation panels from right and left, and in the mystic feeling throughout the work, there is a similarity to contemporary Sienese painters such as Simone Martini (cf. no. 711 a, b, c).

The most striking dissimilarity with the work of the Pisani is in the technique of the relief. Nicola's and Giovanni's figures stand out almost in the round, with no attempt to indicate perspective by variation in the height of the relief. Moreover, the figures almost completely fill the relief field. The sculptor of the Orvieto reliefs achieved such pictorial effect as Ghiberti, a century later, had only to elaborate to create the marvel of centuries, his "Gates of Paradise" on the baptistery at Florence (no. 645 a, b). The relief varies from very high - almost in the round - to passages so low that they fade into the background. And there is a great abundance of empty background, which

enhances the pictorial effect. It is interesting to observe that this pictorial style in sculpture looks backward rather than forward. Clearly, the Orvieto reliefs represent an attempt to translate mediaeval miniature style into sculpture. The delicate vine ornament, that makes a kind of frame for the panels, recalls manuscript illumination, and in the figure compositions, especially when bright sunlight falls on them from one side so that contours are sharpened, we are reminded of the linear animated style of mediaeval manuscripts (cf. no. 430 a, b).

The reliefs decorate four pillars of the façade (cf. no. 606). The creation scenes and other scenes from Genesis are on the first pillar. ~~On the first pillar~~. On the second are scenes connected with the prophecies of the Old Testament. On the third are scenes from the life of Christ. And on the fourth is the Last Judgment. There is some variation in the style of these four series of decorations, but possibly no more than can be accounted for by the normal development of the style of a single artist.

637 a, b

Pisano, Andrea (c. 1270-1348)

Scenes from Life of St. John the Baptist; Virtues; S. Doors (1330-1336)

Bronze. H. of Door Valve, 16½ ft.

Florence, Baptistery

Andrea Pisano was not a member of the family of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. Even the tradition that he was a pupil of Giovanni is based on a misinterpretation of a document. His use of the designation Pisano in his signature is due, presumably, to the fact that he was born near Pisa, at Pontedera, and got his training in Pisa. He must have studied elsewhere, too. Many of his figures suggest French influence: such a one as the graceful attendant of Mary in the scene of the Visitation on the baptistery doors might have come from an exquisite French ivory plaque. And this recalls the fact that the inscription on Andrea's tomb mentions his activity as an ivory carver and a goldsmith. It seems probable that he worked primarily in these fields up to the time he was given the commission for the south doors of the baptistery at Florence, in 1330. The record of that commission is the first in which Andrea's name appears, though he was then about sixty years old.

Andrea is said to have prepared the wax models for the doors in the incredibly short period of three months. For some reason the casting was deferred for two years. Then after unsuccessful attempts by other founders, Andrea himself undertook the casting, completing the work in 1336. The date of the preparation of the wax models is the one that appears in the inscription that runs across the top of the doors: ANDREAS VGOLINI NINI DE PISIS ME FECIT A.D.M.CCC.XXX.

The valves are divided into twenty-eight fields, in which the figure compositions appear as jewels in elaborate settings that are square in their outer moldings and of a Gothic lozenge shape on the interior. Within these small spaces, twenty inches in diameter, there is no crowding of figures as in the reliefs of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano (nos. 633 a, b; 634; 635). And yet there is not the pictorial effect that characterizes the Orvieto reliefs by the Sienese sculptor (no. 636). In the simplicity of the compositions and the careful choice of figures Andrea shows a kinship with Giotto, whose frescoes in Florence he must have studied and whose essays in sculpture were being made on the campanile of the cathedral in Florence (cf. No. 638) at the same time Andrea was casting his doors. There is more realism in Giotto's work; even in his paintings the figures give a more vivid effect of solidity than Andrea got in sculpture, and Giotto was careful of the perspective of his settings (cf. nos. 747-751). Andrea, when he used architectural settings, showed only the front elevation; all parts of the composition were conceived as practically in one plane. The only appreciable exception is the scene of the Birth of John, where three planes are represented in shorthand fashion. And grace, rather than naturalism, is emphasized in Andrea's figures. His draperies have a Sienese decorative quality that we do not find in the work of Giotto. Above all, there is a romantic charm in Andrea's reliefs that is distinctive. St. John's desert is anything but naturalistic; its formation is like Giotto's

iceberg mountains, but what a charming idea to sprinkle over it the most delicate little blossoms and foliage, that seem frozen to it! And everywhere there is a sweet, naive intimacy of relationship between the figures.

The story, which is taken primarily from Luke, starts at the top of the door on the left. 1 - Zacharias, in sacred dress, offers incense at the altar when he is startled by the voice of an angel that tells of the son to be born to him in his old age. 2 - Zacharias goes out and explains to the people outside the temple doors that he has been miraculously struck dumb as a sign of the truth of the angel's message. 3 - Mary and Elizabeth meet. 4- John is born. 5 - Zacharias writes John's name. 6 - John, as a little boy, goes into the desert. Luke says: "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel". And a mediaeval Tuscan song tells how the child at five years went every morning into the desert through woods and meadows and returned at Ave Maria. 7 - John, grown older, preaches in the desert. 8 - John sees Jesus coming and says to the Pharisees, "Behold the Lamb of God." 9 - John baptizes a neophite. 10 - John baptizes Jesus. 11 - John tells Herod it is not lawful for him to keep his brother's wife. 12 - John is conducted to prison for his indiscretion. 13 - John's disciples visit him at the prison and tell him of Jesus' works. In its richness of invention this composition recalls the ivory carvings of romance scenes on French mediaeval caskets. 14 - Two of John's disciples sent to inquire of Jesus if he is the one who was to come, or if they should expect another, are answered by Jesus, "Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk . . . " 15 - Salome dances before Herod at his birthday feast. This composition (no. 637 b) is clearly inspired by Giotto's version of the subject in S. Croce (cf. no. 748). In his preoccupation with Giotto's picture Andrea has simplified the draperies as in the model, and we miss the usual decorative edges of beautiful draped mantles. 16 - John is beheaded. 17 - The head is brought to Salome. 18 - Salome takes the head to her mother. 19 - John is borne away for burial by his disciples. 20 - The disciples deposit their master in the tomb. It would be hard to find anything more tender in feeling, more rhythmic and graceful in design than these last two compositions.

For the Virtues, that form the basis, or predella, of the great bronze stele, Andrea has followed Giotto's conception in general, as we see it at Padua (cf. no. 745 a, b). Each Virtue is labeled in Latin. They are Hope, Faith, Charity, Humility, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, and Prudence. The bronze framework of the doorway dates 1452-1462 and is by Vittorio Ghiberti, the son of Lorenzo.

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Talenti (?), Francesco

Jabal: Relief on Lower Part of Tower (c. 1350)

Stone. H. c. 3 ft., 3 in.

Florence, Campanile of the Cathedral

A favorite cycle in mediaeval and early Renaissance art includes the mechanical and liberal and visual arts, the planets, and the sacraments. One finds it frequently on church entrances and also on tombs, though on the latter the series is usually abbreviated. The whole series appears in two bands of relief on the campanile of the cathedral at Florence. In twenty-six hexagonal fields in the lower zone the history of man's development is traced. Two reliefs represent the creation of man and of woman. Then follows the first labor, Eve spinning and Adam breaking the ground. Then in the relief shown in our reproduction is the initiator of nomadic life, a homeless descendent of Cain. It is Jabal, the father of those that dwell in tents and of those that have cattle. One will find in the series, too, the founder of home life, and the inventors of the useful arts of masonry, pottery, weaving, the beginning of agriculture, of trade, and the like. But man was not satisfied with the necessities of life; as soon as there was leisure he turned to the cultivation of the fine arts and of the intellect. So the series of reliefs includes the invention of music, painting, sculpture, and the beginning of the study of astronomy, grammar, and so forth.

In the upper of the two zones twenty-eight lozenge-shaped reliefs represent the Liberal Arts, which man cultivates in his higher development; the Virtues, which man should emulate; the Seven Planets, which control all life and activity; and the Seven Sacraments, with which God ministers to man.

Some believe that Giotto, who was superintendent of the works on the campanile from 1334 till 1336, designed this whole series of reliefs. Whether he executed some of them himself we cannot be sure. Probably most of them were designed and executed by Andrea Pisano and his assistants after Andrea assumed the direction of the work upon Giotto's death. A variety of hands can be detected. The representation of Jabal belongs to a group distinguished by broadly treated figures and draperies and by smooth backgrounds only slightly modulated to give an interesting play of light and shade. Ruskin once delivered a lecture devoted almost entirely to the little dog that sits here beside Jabal's tent, guarding the sheep, while Jabal looks into the distance, lost in meditation. The puppy is deserving of the honor, so full of life it is, and yet so quiet and so simply portrayed; with subtle modulations the sculptor has given a remarkable feeling of the texture without any special marking of hair on the body; and with just a little pressure he has suggested the alert eyes. As to the name of the sculptor it is possible only to conjecture; it may be Francesco Talenti, who succeeded Andrea Pisano as director of the work on the tower, though the breadth and simplicity of the technique and the way in which the composition is made to fit its space so admirably are worthy of Giotto, as Ruskin has suggested.

639 a, b

Orcagna, Andrea (? - a. 1376)

Tabernacle (1359)

Marble with Inlay of Colored Vitreous Paste. H. c. 25 ft.

Florence, Or San Michele

In our age of specialization the universal geniuses of the Italian Renaissance have a tinge of the supernatural about them. We think of Leonardo as something more than man; there is to us something inexplicable in his wide range of experience and knowledge. Yet it was the rule, rather than the exception, for a Renaissance artist of Tuscany to be proficient in several arts at one time. This universal tendency appeared early in the region. The Pisani were architects as well as sculptors. Giotto was painter, sculptor, and architect. Andrea Orcagna was at the same time architect, sculptor, painter, musician, and poet. We have records of his architectural commissions and of a number of his paintings. Among the several paintings attributable to him which have come down to us is an important signed altarpiece (no. 753). The seven Virtues and the seven Liberal Arts in the upper of the two lower zones of reliefs on the campanile at Florence (no. 583) are among the sculptures that are attributed to him. But there is only one example of his work in sculpture that is recorded, the tabernacle in Or San Michele.

The logical prototypes of this tabernacle are the ciboriums that Arnolfo di Cambio made at Rome. But Orcagna's work is even richer and more elaborate. The white marble set everywhere with designs of colored paste has the effect of delicate lace through which shines a sparkling particolored background. Though one always wishes for more light by which to study the sculpture, the total effect would be less perfect in a well-lighted room than in this dark sanctuary of Or San Michele, where a soft glow emanates from the shrine.

Four candle-bearing seraphim stand on columns that rise like minarets at the angles of the balustrade surrounding the shrine. Each of the four faces of the shrine is like the façade of a church, with its arched doorway flanked by towers, its painted gable, and the central dome rising beyond. In the quatrefoils of the frieze that runs around the monument just below the gables and in similar frames on the pilasters are busts of prophets, patriarchs, and angels. Full-length angels are carved on the marble hangings that simulate rich brocade at either side of the space enclosing the painting for which the shrine was made, a now somewhat repainted Madonna Enthroned (1346-1347) by Bernardo Daddi. Corresponding to the frieze of quatrefoils above, a wider frieze runs around the lower part of the monument. Here alternating with

figures of the Virtues and angels are incidents in the history of the Virgin. In these and in the great relief of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin on the back of the tabernacle we can best study the relief style of Orcagna. Vasari tells us that he was a pupil of Andrea Pisano. He could hardly have escaped the influence of Pisano in Florence at this time. But in these reliefs, as well as in his paintings, Orcagna has carried on and developed the style of Giotto. In the relief of the Annunciation, for example, there is a breadth of handling and a sense of corporeality that characterizes the works of Giotto. There is more sentiment than in Giotto's works, however. Orcagna's attitude toward his subjects seems to have been less matter-of-fact, more deeply religious than that of Giotto. It is interesting to notice that the religious spirit depends almost entirely upon the expression and pose of the figures. There are very few attributes; none of the figures have haloes, for example. The homely atmosphere of Florentine painting of the Renaissance, the tendency to interpret religious scenes in the light of social life of the period, is already beginning to appear.

Below the scene of the death of the Virgin on the back of the tabernacle is Orcagna's signature and the date of the completion of the work: ANDREAS CIONIS PICTOR FLORENTIN ORATORII ARCHIMAGISTER EXTITIT HVI' MCCCLIX.

640

Quercia, Jacopo della (1374? - 1438)

Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto (1406?)

Marble. H. 3 ft., 9 in.

Lucca, Cathedral

Jacopo della Quercia was born in Siena and grew up with the sculptures of the Pisani continually before his eyes. He early supplemented this inevitable influence by a familiarity with Florentine sculpture and in 1402 submitted a relief along with Florentine artists in competition for the new doors of the baptistery at Florence. He shared with his contemporaries the enthusiasm for objects of ancient art that were being dug up in Siena and elsewhere; he must have come in contact with artists from beyond the Alps, toward whom Siena showed great hospitality; and he had plenty of opportunity to see objects of art from France, Germany, and Flanders: one of his patrons, Paolo Guinigi, for example, was an enthusiastic collector of such objects. Vasari tells us that the first sculpture done by Jacopo was in wood, cut with most marvelous patience in every detail. This seems reasonable in view of the fact that it was customary for Italian artists at this time to get their early training in the ateliers of wood carvers and goldsmiths.

The most famous of Jacopo's early works that have come down to us, the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, bears indications of such a training: the work is done with the care and minutiae of a goldsmith. This care is particularly evident in the head of Ilaria and in the winged putti and their garlands that decorate the long sides of the sarcophagus. The remarkable thing about the work is that the minute, naturalistic detail does not conflict with the noble conception of the whole. Crowned with the festive headdress, draped in a robe that comes high at the neck and descends below her feet, the beautiful figure lies here at peace, not in death, nor yet in sleep; the face, hands, and body seem perfectly natural, and yet there is no illusion involved. It is impossible to think of the figure apart from the translucent marble in which it is carved. In this fine conception Jacopo has reached back through the centuries to share the genius of the sculptor of the east pediment of the Parthenon, whose figures of the Fates, Demeter, Persephone, and the rest (cf. nos. 112-115) are a species of life that can exist only in marble.

The little dog lying at her feet, alert, its head raised attentively toward her face, as if it were the faithful guard of her repose, is a traditional tomb motive. It may be used here in its allegorical sense to signify marital fidelity. The winged putti with their garlands recall the decoration of ancient urns. ~~He~~ Jacopo has made them distinctly his own, however, sturdy little fellows who bear the heavy garlands with varying degrees of exertion and cheerfulness. On one end of the sarcophagus Jacopo carved the arms of Ilaria's family; on the other end, a cross. Because this small cross is the only reli-

gious symbol on the tomb, it has usually been assumed that the sarcophagus was originally only the lower part of the monument, that in the usual Tuscan manner it was finished by an arch that enclosed perhaps a tondo of Christ blessing. Vasari's account admits such a hypothesis. On the other hand the fact that all four sides of the sarcophagus are decorated (if this represents the original plan) indicates that the tomb was not intended to be placed against a wall, but to be free-standing, as we see it to-day. For the free-standing type Jacopo may have got his idea from France; but the simple circumstance of the cathedral being under repair at the time may, as has been suggested, be sufficient explanation of the plan of the monument.

The date of the work is not certain. Ilaria died at the end of 1405. Presumably Jacopo commenced the tomb very soon thereafter and finished it the following year, in spite of the Milanesi's statement that he was working on it in 1413. We should expect to find a record of the date in the accounts of Paolo Guinigi, husband of Ilaria, for he was accustomed to keep a most minute record of all his expenses; the omission is probably explained by the fact that his account books for 1406 are lost. Paolo married again in 1407 and by 1413 had six children by this wife besides an illegitimate son by a servant. It is hardly probable that he would have had a monument erected to Ilaria at this late date.

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Quercia, Jacopo della (1374? - 1438)

Creation of Eve: Relief on Portal (1425-1438)

Stone. H. 3 ft.

Bologna, S. Petronio

After the first flush of enthusiasm and activity instigated by Giovanni Pisano and his school in Siena in the early fourteenth century, Sienese sculpture had fallen into a decline, with but scant signs of rejuvenation still at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In Florence, on the other hand, the most brilliant development of sculpture began at this time. Venice and Lombardy, too, were active, inspired largely by Northern influences. Yet when Bologna was ready to pay for a splendid entrance for the great church of S. Petronio, the commissioners gave their contract to a Sienese. No doubt political and social considerations were partly responsible for this choice, as they are in such matters to-day: two Sienese were praetors at Bologna in the years 1424 and 1425. But Jacopo della Quercia had shown himself deserving of such a commission on his own merits. Among the many works that he had already executed, there was the beautiful tomb of Ilaria del Carretto in Lucca; there was the great fountain in front of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, the most glorious fountain any city ever had, as we can judge even by the fragments that remain; and there was the baptismal font that he was executing for the baptistery at Siena, in collaboration with Florence's greatest sculptors, when the commission for the work at Bologna was given.

The commission for the doorway of S. Petronio was given in 1425, with a detailed stipulation of the sculpture with which it was to be adorned. Jacopo della Quercia had made a drawing which is mentioned in the contract as the plan to be strictly adhered to. That drawing has been lost, but we can reconstruct it fairly accurately from the description in the original contract and in later stipulations. The contract stated that the work was to be completed within two years after the necessary marbles had been procured. Jacopo was a long time collecting the marbles, going from one place to another for them. But the principal delays in the work were due to his undertaking commissions for other clients at the same time, so that he was continually leaving Bologna to go elsewhere for months at a time, especially to Siena. So the work dragged on for thirteen years and Jacopo died without completing it. He finished the statues of the Madonna and St. Petronius in the tympanum, the five reliefs of the early history of Christ in the architrave, the ten reliefs of Old Testament scenes on the wide outer pilasters, and part of the half-length prophets on the narrow inner pilasters. On some of the reliefs, especially those in the architrave, the hands of assistants can be detected.

The Creation of Eve is wholly by the master himself. It is one of the finest in the whole series and shows better than the tomb of Ilaria the characteristic style of Jacopo. There is evident here a quality not accounted for by the influences upon Jacopo noted in the discussion of that early tomb. Along with the refinement taught by classical art and by the contemporary Florentine revival, there is here a kind of aboriginal quality, something that seems born of the soil, as that sought by an artist like Gauguin (cf. nos. 1244, 1245) who has broken away from the influences of his milieu in order to catch the spirit of a people untouched by modern civilization. We see it particularly in the naturalistic, but at the same time almost archaic, face of Adam. Probably Jacopo's familiarity with his own native Etruscan art was responsible for this strain in him. Eve has the grace and beauty of the allegorical figures that Jacopo made for the Fonte Gaia at Siena. Her weak form contrasts most effectively with the powerful God the Father Who blesses at the same time that He supports her and strengthens her by His touch. What a magnificent figure is that of God the Father! The very strength of His gaze seems sufficient to create life. It is easy to understand how Michelangelo in his enforced early sojourn of a year at Bologna drew strength and inspiration from such figures as this.

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Brunelleschi, Filippo (1379-1446)

Sacrifice of Isaac (1402)

Bronze. H. 18 in.

Florence, Bargello

The style of the panel that Brunelleschi modeled in competition for the second doors of the Florentine baptistery is discussed in the comparison drawn between it and Ghiberti's panel (no. 643). The outcome of that competition was decisive for Brunelleschi's whole subsequent career, as it was for the whole course of Renaissance architecture. When he found himself outshown in sculpture, he turned his splendid intellect to the study of architectural problems; his innovations affected the character, directly or indirectly, of every building of the Renaissance in Italy; and he is still emulated in the domes of our state capitols and many other details of modern architecture. We may be glad that the suave grace of Ghiberti, rather than the impetuous vigor of Brunelleschi, characterizes the decoration of the second doors of the baptistery. But we must feel some regret for the intellectual impetus that sculpture missed through Brunelleschi's desertion of that art for architecture. In a small detail of the competitive panel Brunelleschi has given us a sample of his original invention. At first sight the subject of the relief on Abraham's altar might appear to be the Annunciation to the Virgin. The female figure at the right, sitting beside a tall lamp with a book in her lap, is undoubtedly intended to represent the Virgin. But the figure approaching her with a branch in his outstretched hand is not the annunciate angel but a bearded old man. It has been suggested that he is Abraham extending toward the Virgin the branch as symbol of his progeny, and laying his hand on the head of Isaac.

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Ghiberti, Lorenzo (1378-1455)

Sacrifice of Isaac (1402)

Bronze. H. 18 in.

Florence, Bargello

Lorenzo Ghiberti is doubly important to the historian because he left, besides his works in sculpture, an autobiography and an account of many past and contemporary artists. The autobiography is invaluable for the light it throws on the practices and mental attitude of an artist of the period. From it we learn that Ghiberti always had a preference for painting, though fate decreed that he should spend nearly his whole lifetime on sculpture. One is reminded of the case of Michelangelo, who longed to express himself in marble when he was forced to paint the Sistine ceiling. The difference is that Ghiberti seems to have felt none of the rebellion that embittered Michelangelo's life. He worked with joy, and took pleasure and pride in the honors he won. Since his great opportunities were in sculpture, he adapted himself to that medium and satisfied his natural propensities by developing pictorial effects in bronze.

When Ghiberti's first great opportunity came he was indulging his preference for painting. He had gone to the Romagna a year earlier to escape the plague in Florence and he had obtained employment in decorating Malatesta's castle at Rimini. But he had served his apprenticeship in a Florentine goldsmith's shop. And now when in 1401 the Arte della Lana proclaimed a competition for the second doors of the baptistery, his master, Bartolo di Michele, recalled his twenty-four-year-old protégé at once to Florence and encouraged him and urged him to his best endeavors all through the preparation of the competitive panel. There were a number of other competitors, but the only ones worthy to be classed with Ghiberti were Jacopo della Quercia and Brunelleschi, and the latter was Ghiberti's only serious rival in this con-

test. Loath to lose the services of either Brunelleschi or Ghiberti, the judges suggested giving the commission to the two jointly. Brunelleschi, jealous and disappointed, refused to collaborate - he would be responsible for all the work or none - so in November, 1403, the commission was given to Ghiberti. Hanging side by side in the Bargello, the competitive panels by these two rivals always invite comparison. Composed at the same time and subject to the same requirements of size, shape, border design, depth of relief, material, and purpose, the two reliefs offer a unique opportunity to observe the infinity of great and slight differences in the treatment of the same theme by different hands and to discover the subtler, as well as the more striking, peculiarities of the artists' styles. The decision of the judges in 1403 is, furthermore, an instructive commentary on Florentine taste at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Without any stretch of the imagination, the student of to-day can review the case entire, as far as Ghiberti and Brunelleschi are concerned, and see the significance of the judgment rendered.

At first sight, it must be confessed, the choice between the two seems comparatively easy. For what is first grasped, the composition, is far more distinguished in Ghiberti's panel, with its less confusing, more architectural, upright lines, and its greater harmony between figures and setting. A little further familiarity, however, makes the difficulty of the original judges intelligible. Brunelleschi's relief reveals, indeed, unexpected richness of motive and liveliness of action; also it is modeled with a boldness and surety that explain why he was able to finish his panel in a very short time, while Ghiberti, revising and constantly working over his panel, had not yet finished it to his satisfaction when the allotted year was up.

The juxtaposition of the two reliefs seems to bring into a single field of vision the classical and the Gothic worlds. Zeus, as the Periclean Greeks conceived him, powerful and irresistible, but quiet and self-contained, is matched against the Biblical patriarch of the Middle Ages, nervous and fiery, acting upon the impulse of the moment. In Ghiberti's Abraham the great masses of hair and beard, the broad, full waves of drapery, the steady, sure gaze of eye and movement of arm suggest the mighty ocean with its continuous surge and roll of billows. In Brunelleschi's Abraham the spiral locks, the sharply overlapping drapery, the intensity of expression, and the darting thrust of arms suggest the swirling whirlpool.

One could go further and say that this great contrast, a contrast which is intrinsic to the art of the early Renaissance, is present even in Ghiberti's Abraham. The flying corner of his mantle would certainly indicate hurried movement were not the rest of his drapery arranged in quiet, elegant folds. Artistically explicable the waving corner becomes by a glance at the whole relief. It serves to emphasize the line of action of Abraham's menacing arm, and to point like a tongue of flame toward the absolvent sacrificial ram. It serves with the heavy drapery that hangs down from the other shoulder to square up the silhouette of the curving figure, and, by its fading away into the background, to give the figure greater salience: in these respects it counteracts its own Gothic nature. It serves between the angel and the ram to occupy partially an otherwise sensible lacuna and adds concessively a touch of bravura. Naturalistically explicable the waving corner is not, unless we imagine that despite the apparent calm elsewhere it has been caught up by a passing breeze.

No such fortuitous passing breeze accounts for the streaming drapery in Brunelleschi's panel. Here all of Abraham's robes are thrown back violently as he rushes forward; we can almost hear them snap behind him. And the angel, flying in from the opposite direction, has its drapery swept back toward the other side of the panel. So we have the effect of a whirlpool created here in a more literal fashion: the three arms seem to be sucked into the center, marked by Isaac's head, while the ends of drapery and the angel's other hand and wings are flung outward by the centrifugal force at the periphery.

Brunelleschi reveled in action. He could not be content with merely preparing the stage, having things ready to happen; they must happen. Abraham is actually plunging the knife into Isaac's throat. Isaac struggles, screams out in agony, and assumes a look of despair, as if in the very act of expiring. The angel dares not wait to convince Abraham with words; his only hope of saving Isaac lies in grasping the arm of the desperate father and halting him instantly. In the next moment Abraham would be thrown backward were it not that his own rush forward, added to the heavy bulk of his body, is sufficient to equalize the impact of the angel.

Ghiberti, less interested in rapid action, gives each figure a pose it could retain independently of the others, just as classical architecture has no need of Gothic thrust supports. Here all preparations have been made for action. Abraham feels no indecision, but he is slower and more deliberate, so that the angel, coming forward and hovering over the scene, needs but to indicate the ram with one graceful hand, while he holds his drapery in place with the other. Isaac does not cry out and struggle; he shrinks back in surprise and turns an innocent, inquiring look toward his father.

The relation of both sculptors to the antique has been frequently discussed. Brunelleschi copied the spinario for one of his servants, an apoxyomenos, apparently, for the other; his head of Isaac might have been suggested by some head on Trajan's column, and his ram stands in a conventional antique pose, rubbing its head with its hoof. But in spite of his objective imitation of the antique in these particulars, Brunelleschi has much less of the classic spirit than has Ghiberti. Schlosser, indeed, alleges a certain similarity between Ghiberti's Isaac and a colossal torso of a satyr now in the Uffizi which, according to an old and persistent, though not absolutely reliable, tradition, belonged to Ghiberti's collection. But the analogy, like so many others, vanishes upon closer acquaintance: the torso is a very deeply modeled, superanatomical, Pergamene piece, which the Isaac does not resemble in pose, proportion, or surface, the two having in common, however, a vague suggestion of the Praxitelean. But whether Ghiberti copied or not, and as far as we know he did not, he did approach ancient sculpture more closely through a sensitive refinement of form and contour than Brunelleschi did by catching at externals.

It is interesting to compare the two artists' peculiarites of modeling. The broad, smooth surfaces in some parts of Brunelleschi's plaque - for example, the angel's sleeves and the mantle over its shoulder - remind us of Giotto. The sense of solidity produced by such treatment is remarkable here as in Giotto. The flesh, too, is worked out in the same manner. See how hard the flesh of Abraham's arm looks; the tendons and veins are indicated with the fewest, simplest lines and changes of surface projection. And a few bold ridges and indentations mark the character of the face. How different is the ever-changing surface of the face and arm of Ghiberti's Abraham! The play of light and shade over the gentle modulations gives the effect of a softness of texture. Ghiberti's distinction between various materials is convincing. Flesh, hair, drapery, boots, rock, firewood - each has its peculiar texture. But with Brunelleschi the distinction is not so clear. Abraham's hands and arms have the hard, metallic look mentioned above, and the drapery, in spite of the folds, seems of a very hard, stiff material, scarcely distinguishable from the flesh. The angel's hand issues from a metal cylinder instead of from a soft textile. The hair is of the same brittleness. One must recognize, however, that this kind of treatment is in perfect harmony with the spirit of Brunelleschi's panel. No soft-fleshed race would display such irresistible vigor. This is a race of hardened, brawny men of action. No wonder critics propose to see in the figure of the servant at the right a copy of an ancient statue of an athlete and no wonder this same figure seems to presage the soldiers in Michelangelo's Battle of Pisa cartoon (no. 865). The servant is merely stooping to fill his drinking shell with water; but, suddenly startled by a glimpse of the tragic action so near him, he is shot through by an electric signal that tightens every nerve and muscle. In the next moment he will spring up, dash away his cup, and leap to the ledge above.

This servant's counterpart on the opposite side of the panel is still oblivious to the tragedy. He is, as everyone knows, a copy of the classical spinario. It is interesting to compare the figure with Ghiberti's Isaac. But how different the two are! And neither would ever be mistaken for a classical piece. Brunelleschi has given the spinario the sweet face of a Gothic angel, with just the suggestion of a smile playing about the lips, and he has clothed the figure in a heavy mantle, that falls in large, beautiful folds. Ghiberti has taken great delight in studying the torso of his Isaac. There is something here that we do not find in classical work; there is a greater interest in the minutiae of detail, a less summarized record of the changes wrought in the surface by the bones, muscles, and tendons beneath. One should observe in the figures of Isaac the care with which these artists finished their work: they did not send in to the critical judges of the competition a sketch, but a finished work that (apart from a few hasty details, like the foot of the boy behind the donkey in Ghiberti's relief) would stand the closest scrutiny.

Another interesting comparison may be drawn between the two donkeys.

Ghiberti's is calm and gentle, with a suggestion of humble obeisance in the turn of the head. Brunelleschi's, with the swift, straight lines of neck, head, ears, and leg converging toward a single point, has much of the lithe strength and animation which characterize the human figures of this plaque. And for masterly modeling the head is one of the finest details that either panel can offer. One may prefer Ghiberti's more detailed modeling in the case of such a figure as the Abraham or the Isaac, but for the sleek head of a donkey, with its prominently marked skull, one could imagine no better technique than this broad, almost cubistic manner that catches and emphasizes the important planes.

If we would see in the animal head and in the servant stooping down beside it the sculptural accomplishment of Brunelleschi at its best, we may take the group of two servants in the other panel as no less representative of Ghiberti's genius. After such colorful work as this, one could be surprised at no limits to which the sculptor might go in pictorial treatment. How elegant and graceful is this beautifully draped figure, and how mysterious and suggestive the face of the other! Ghiberti is here not at the beginning of the Renaissance but at its apogee. His art has become personal, lyric, introspective. The boys - near Ghiberti's own age - look intimately, soulfully into each other's eyes. They seem Giorgionesque already. They remind us of the two youths in similar communion in the famous Pastoral Symphony (no. 921). Brunelleschi tells his story with strong, clear-cut lines. Ghiberti leaves something for us to imagine in the deep shadows and softly undulating modeling. What a problem for the Florentine judges!

644 a, b

Ghiberti, Lorenzo (1378-1455)

Scenes from Life of Christ; Evangelists and Fathers: N. Doors (1403-1424)

Bronze. H. of Door Valve, 16½ ft.

Florence, Baptistery

In November, 1403, as a result of the public competition (see p. 13), Lorenzo Ghiberti was given the commission for the second doors of the Florentine baptistery. His stepfather, Bartolo di Michele, in whose goldsmith shop Ghiberti was trained, is mentioned in the contract as Ghiberti's associate. Other records mention many assistants in the work; among them can be found the names of nearly all the important Florentine artists who were then of apprenticeship age; there were painters as well as sculptors - here Uccello got his early inspiration for the study of perspective (see p. 752). Even with the numerous assistants, the work on the doors occupied a period of twenty-one years, in spite of the fact that Ghiberti's outside activities during that time were strictly limited by his employers. The doors were finally finished in April, 1424, and were set up on the east side of the baptistery, facing the cathedral, thus displacing Andrea Pisano's doors (no. 637), which had occupied that favored position for nearly a century. A quarter of a century later, in 1452, Ghiberti's first doors gave place, in turn, to his second, more elaborate pair, the "Gates of Paradise," that still to-day look toward the cathedral.

In the general design of his first doors Ghiberti carefully followed the precedent of Andrea Pisano, possibly less from choice than from necessity - the shape and size of the panels had been stipulated in the competition, at least. As in Andrea Pisano's doors, the valves are divided into twenty-eight square panels, within which the figure compositions are further enclosed in quatrefoil frames. And, as in the same prototype, the upper twenty panels contain historical scenes and the lower eight, single ~~frames~~ FIGURES.

The four evangelists and four church fathers, authors and expounders of the New Testament, are in these last eight panels. Some believe that these figures are for some unknown reason not arranged as Ghiberti originally intended them: if the two at the outer edge of the left valve were interchanged with the two on the inner edge of the right valve the whole arrangement would be more symmetrical; all the figures would then turn toward the middle of the door. They are venerable types, without striking characterization of features, but with much beauty and grace, for which the decorative treatment of the

draperies is largely responsible.

Andrea Pisano had arranged the twenty upper scenes in such a manner that the valves were comparatively independent of each other, so that they could be enjoyed one at a time when the doors stood open. His story of John the Baptist began at the top of the left valve, read down through its ten scenes, and then continued at the top of the right valve. Ghiberti treated his valves as if they formed together a single stele. The story begins, in traditional fashion at the bottom and reads across the two valves in five zones, following the history of Christ in chronological order: Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Among the Doctors, Baptism, Temptation, Purging of the Temple, Walking on the Water, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Mount of Olives, Betrayal, Flagellation, Pilate Washing His Hands, Way to Calvary, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Pentecost. Everywhere the striking qualities are grace, suavity, and decorative beauty of design. There are instances of dramatic effect, as in the Temptation scene. But that is the result of theatrical pose rather than of powerful physical or facial expression. Satan has been called an ancient philosopher who wears claws and bats' wings as disguise. And Christ is hardly stronger or more commanding in aspect than the flower-like Virgin startled by the annunciative angel in the first panel of the series.

In some of the panels, as that depicting the Annunciation, Andrea Pisano's method of indicating the ground line is imitated: a projecting plane is supported on consoles. The pictorial method of Ghiberti's second doors is foreshadowed in the next panel, the Nativity, where the figures are distributed on receding rocky ground. The tree forms and the angel recall the competitive panel (no. 643). It may be observed at this point, however, that the exquisite finish of that panel on which Ghiberti won his commission was never equaled in the doors. Here the work seems to be more hurried, more sketchy. Such a panel as that of the Baptism is like a study for the representation of the same subject by Ghiberti on the font at Siena, where the work is again more finished.

There are reminiscences of the antique in Ghiberti's panels. More than one figure might have been inspired by some classical statue of a philosopher or a Hercules. Roman armor has served as model in several instances. Christ in the Flagellation suggests the style of Praxiteles. There are resemblances also to earlier and contemporary painting. The Sienese, Simone Martini and his milieu, are recalled by many of the scenes, as the Way to Calvary and the Crucifixion (no. 644 b; cf. no. 712). But there are prophecies of the future also: Leonardo must have had Ghiberti's Adoration of the Magi in mind when he worked on his great unfinished Adoration in the Uffizi; the magus approaching on his knees, supporting himself with a hand placed on the ground, is even more closely followed in one of Leonardo's sketches. Michelangelo's Jeremiah on the Sistine ceiling (no. 868) and his Lorenzo de' Medici on the tomb in S. Lorenzo (no. 679 b) might have been suggested by one of the doctors in the following relief.

Instead of the conventional designs that Andrea Pisano used between the square frames of the panels, crisp flower and fruit forms, from which emerge birds and insects, occupy those spaces on Ghiberti's doors; and instead of the lions' heads, portrait heads almost in the round here decorate the angles: they are a portrait of Ghiberti himself and presumably portraits of his assistants in the great work.

645 a, b

Ghiberti, Lorenzo (1378-1455)

Old Testament Scenes: E. Doors (1425-1452)

Bronze. H. of Door Valve, 16½ ft.

Florence, Baptistery

For the third pair of baptistery doors no competition was proclaimed. Ghiberti's patrons desired nothing better than the doors that had just been erected after twenty-one years of patient labor, and the new commission was given him in 1425. The intention was to follow here the general plan of the doors already in place, that is, there were to be twenty historical scenes,

this time from the Old Testament, and eight single figures, of prophets. As Ghiberti proceeded with his designs he adhered to this plan until as late as 1429, when the bronze lining for the doors was cast: the twenty-eight divisions were indicated on that lining, where they may now be seen. But since he had designed the doors with the New Testament scenes, Ghiberti had felt the inspiration of Donatello's recent essays in low relief (see no. 646). He wanted an opportunity to make more use of perspective, to obtain a more pictorial effect in his work. The small fields into which the earlier doors were divided allowed only very few figures in each composition, and these few had to be kept as nearly as possible in a single plane, so that none of them, already small, would have to be diminished in size. Ghiberti's final solution of his problem, as we can see on the doors, was to reduce his main divisions to ten, all storied, most of which contain two or more scenes, so that very little had to be omitted from the scenes designated in the original plan. The single figures he relegated to the frames: prophets and sibyls occupy the twenty vertical niches; Adam and Eve, Noah and his wife - the four parents of mankind - occupy the horizontal niches. As in the second doors, portrait heads look out from little frames at the angles of the main divisions of the door valves. Here again we see the features of Ghiberti, now considerably aged, and of his assistants. In the frame of his own portrait Ghiberti carved his signature: LAVRENTII CIONIS DE GHIBERTIS - MIRA ARTE FABRICATVM. Intersected as they are with figures, the frames of the valves have scant space for floral design and the little that is used is appropriately more conventional than that in the corresponding frames of the earlier doors. But the outer frame of the whole doorway is a luxuriant harvest of fruits and foliage, which vies in naturalistic effect with the little animals that feed upon it and enjoy its shelter. The next stage in the development of this style is illustrated by the frame that Lorenzo's son, Vittorio Ghiberti, made after 1452 for Andrea Pisano's doors (no. 637), now on the south side of the baptistery. The details of the later decoration are more abundant and at the same time more clear-cut and precise than in Lorenzo's frame. The vegetation has a crisp and bristling quality characteristic of the High Renaissance in contrast to the delicate and refined modeling of early Renaissance work.

The most striking characteristic of the ten compositions is their pictorial effect. There are forty figures in the scene of the Creation and Fall (no. 645 b), and there are four different episodes. Yet the panel does not seem crowded and there is no confusion between the four scenes. They are not separated by columns or trees as in Early Christian sculpture (cf. no. 281), but by space and atmosphere. The scientific study of atmosphere in painting was soon to be initiated by Piero della Francesca (cf. nos. 792-796). But Masaccio had lately arrived at an intuitive expression of atmosphere in his frescoes in the Brancacci chapel (cf. nos. 771-775), and Ghiberti's atmospheric effects are of a similar nature. The Brancacci chapel frescoes included only two Old Testament scenes, but these, particularly the Expulsion from Paradise, furnished iconographic motives for Ghiberti's treatment of the subjects.

Like Jacopo della Quercia, Ghiberti has omitted haloes and most other religious attributes. The gracefully floating choirs of angels, the gentle forms of God the Father, recurring in rhythmic succession, the swaying body of the beautiful Eve, the flower-sprinkled earth, and the luxuriantly foliaged trees, among which birds peck and sing, are more poetic than religious in effect.

The scenes of the first labor, in the following panel, recall Gothic Books of Hours in their idyllic charm. In the same panel, on a distant hill, is the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel; in the middle distance, the slaying of Abel; and in the foreground, Cain's impudent reply to God, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

In the next composition Noah and his family issue from their strange pyramidal ark. In a picturesque group that has been likened to a gathering of gods on Olympus they take counsel together, while the birds fly from the opening in the top of the ark and a variety of animals enjoy their regained freedom on the mountain sides. In the foreground Noah offers sacrifice and thanks to God, and at the left he lies drunk beneath his new arbor.

The scene of the apparition of the angelic messengers to Abraham is one of the most charming in the whole series. The fascination of these three flower-like angels is comparable to that of the three virgins in Sassetta's Marriage of St. Francis at Chantilly (no. 727), and the repetition of their serial arrangement in the row of trees above is as effective as Sassetta's repetition of the virgins. It is interesting to compare the Sacrifice of Isaac

with Ghiberti's earlier version of the subject in his competitive panel (no. 643). The later treatment is more faithful to the Biblical narration. We are not impressed by the elegance of the figures, by the richness of their costumes, and by the classical beauty of Isaac's nude body, but rather by the tragedy of the event and by Abraham's solitude in his great crisis. The two servants again remind us of the intimate, lyric expression of Giorgione.

The scenes from the story of Jacob and Esau have an architectural setting that was probably suggested by the Loggia dei Lanzi (no. 586). In the birth scene at the left is that motive of the servant entering with a basket on her head and her drapery fluttering in the breezes that became so popular in fifteenth century painting (cf. no. 806).

The round building that forms the background for the story of Joseph is undoubtedly suggested by Brunelleschi's new solutions of the central plan in architecture. To the distance between the various episodes as they recede into the background the gradation in size of figures carefully conforms, and, as usual in these panels, the foreground figures are modeled in higher relief than those in the background.

The remaining four panels represent Moses receiving the law on Mt. Sinai, the children of Israel before the walls of Jericó, David slaying Goliath, and the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The distant cities in two of these panels are full of Italian buildings, some of which can be recognized as Florentine, and the last scene takes place before a three-aisled basilica that resembles the cathedral at Florence. This scene of the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba may be considered as a connecting link between the Old Testament scenes of this door and the New Testament scenes of the two earlier doors, for it was on her way to Solomon that the Queen of Sheba saw a vision of the true cross, symbol of Christ's sacrifice.

When, in 1452, Ghiberti's second doors had been completed and enriched by a coat of gilding, they were judged superior even to his first doors and given the place of honor facing the cathedral, where his first doors had in 1424 succeeded Andrea Pisano's. The modern judge will usually prefer Ghiberti's first doors, choosing to leave to painting the intricacies of pictorial effect, but that is a matter of taste.

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Donatello (c. 1385-1466)

Dance of Salome: Relief on Baptismal Font (1425)

Bronze. H. c. 18 in.

Siena, Baptistery

While Ghiberti was working on his first doors for the Florentine baptistery, Donatello carved his delicate pictorial relief of St. George and the Dragon (1416) in the predella of the niche for his statue of St. George on Or San Michele. Before Ghiberti had even designed any of the ten panels for his second doors, Donatello executed the epoch-making relief of the Dance of Salome for the baptismal font in the baptistery at Siena. Ghiberti's extensive work in pictorial relief thus appears less as an innovation than as an exploitation of Donatello's invention. Donatello was the leader of fifteenth century art not alone in matters of method and technique, but in spirit as well. One can hardly mention a single field of expression touched by later artists that Donatello had not mastered. The elegant grace and poetry of the relief of St. George and the Dragon are closely akin to the style of all Ghiberti's art; they show only one phase of Donatello's. Another phase appears in the Siena relief, a superb expression of dramatic emotion. Donatello ran the whole gamut of expression from the classical idealism of the bronze David (no. 649) to the modern realism of the Zuccone (no. 651). He was comparable to Leonardo in versatility. It is true that he confined himself mainly to sculpture and it was only incidentally that he gave some attention to engineering, architecture, and, possibly, painting. But his versatility consisted primarily in his variety of mood and expression.

Donatello is said to have received his early training in a goldsmith's

shop, the usual training school for fifteenth century artists. In any case, he must have taken an early interest in sculpture on a large scale, for his earliest work seems that of a true sculptor rather than of a goldsmith; it is not improbable that he was a pupil of Nanni di Banco, who was active in the sculptural decoration of the cathedral at Florence when Donatello was growing up and through whom, probably, Donatello obtained, in 1404, his earliest commission, for statues of prophets for the north portal of the cathedral. Between this time and the execution of his relief for the Siena font Donatello produced a great variety of sculptures, among which are some of his most striking works, the marble David in the Bargello, St. Mark and St. George for Or San Michele, some of the statues for the campanile, and the St. Louis at S. Croce.

The famous font at Siena was begun in 1416 by Jacopo della Quercia, who furnished the general design and executed some of the details. Out of a hexagonal basin rises a pillar which supports a hexagonal lantern-like structure suggesting in general appearance the exterior of a baptistery, with reliefs in the six sides to simulate statues in niches, with gables between which nude winged putti stand, and with a crowning figure of John the Baptist raised high above the dome. For this upper part of the font Donatello executed four of the putti (one now in the Berlin museum). They are delightful little bronze figures and mark a real innovation: they are the first nude figures of the Renaissance made to be seen from all directions, independent of niche or background - Donatello's bronze David (no. 649) develops logically from them. But most of Donatello's work on the font is in the lower member, where bronze reliefs decorate the six faces and bronze statuettes stand at the angles. Two of these statuettes, Hope and Faith, were done by Donatello, and one of the reliefs, the Dance of Salome. Jacopo della Quercia had made one of the reliefs, and in the same year that Donatello executed his, 1425, Lorenzo Ghiberti finished two more. The other reliefs were modeled by less important sculptors.

It would be interesting to know just how much cooperation there was in the work, how closely the artists kept in touch with each other's designs, and what was the exact interplay of influence. The most striking characteristics of Donatello's relief are its dramatic emotion and its illusionistic technique. The very dramatic relief (the Annunciation to Zacharias of the Birth of His Son) that Quercia had made several years earlier for the font must have been a source of inspiration to Donatello, and from Giotto's fresco of this very subject, the Dance of Salome, in S. Croce (no. 748), he must have taken lessons in the expression of dramatic action with a simplicity of means. But if he studied any prototypes of his technique, it must have been Roman illusionistic relief, such as that in the passageway of the Arch of Titus (no. 162) - a suggestion which enhances the likelihood of Donatello's having visited Rome before 1432 (see P. 21). We see the illusionistic style later in Ghiberti's second doors for the Florentine baptistery (no. 645), but the technique of Ghiberti's reliefs for the font more closely resembles that of his work on his first baptistery doors. Donatello's relief of St. George and the Dragon (1416) is already illusionistic; there is even a little arcaded background there to give depth to the perspective. But in the font relief he has jumped to the full realization of the possibilities of this intriguing technique: figures in the foreground are almost in the round; those in the distance, and the complicated architectural setting are in the very low relief so characteristic of much of Donatello's work. The architectural background, with arcades opening the view into distant rooms, was fascinating to Donatello: he used it much in later work. In the farthest room a soldier has just entered with the head of the Baptist on a charger and meets a group of horrified serving girls, their eyes fairly popping out of their heads. In the room between this and the foreground scene are the musicians, wholly oblivious to the tragedy surging round them, to which, in their calmness, they serve as a foil. In the foreground is the royal dining hall, where Salome dances before Herod. Suddenly the soldier has shot like a cannon ball into the room and on bended knee offers the head to Herod. Guests and servants and Herod himself fall back to right and left away from that ghastly object, yet their eyes are riveted to it. Only the woman who was capable of conceiving such an inhuman thing, only Herodias, leans toward the head and is able to turn her eyes from it to Herod, with whom she expostulates for his weakness. Just as Leonardo, in order to distinguish Judas, did not need to put him alone on one side of the table, as was customary in representations of the Last Supper (cf. no. 829), so Donatello did not need to put the head of John the Baptist in the center of the composition to make it the center of interest. It is like a loadstone, drawing our eyes to it as irresistibly as it holds the attention of the actors in the drama.

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Donatello (c. 1385-1466) and Michelozzo (1396-1472)

Tomb of Pope John XXIII (1426-1429)

Marble and Bronze. Effigy Life-Size

Florence, Baptistery

The tomb of Pope John XXIII was executed by Donatello in collaboration with Michelozzo. The two artists were associated for twelve or fifteen years, first as master (Donatello) and assistant (Michelozzo), then as partners. But during most of that period they worked independently, for we know of but few commissions that they shared. Michelozzo was particularly valuable to Donatello because of his proficiency in casting.

The Neapolitan Baldassare Cossa (Pope John XXIII), of low birth and despicable character, was deposed from the papacy, which he had attained through crafty scheming. He enjoyed his later appointment as Bishop of Tusculum but a short while before he died in 1419, leaving a large sum of money for the erection of a monument to himself in the Florentine baptistery. His executors gave the commission for the monument to Donatello and Michelozzo in the same year, but work was not begun until 1426, owing to the difficulty of obtaining permission from the council in charge of the church for the erection of the monument. Cossa had stipulated that a chapel should be built in the baptistery to contain the monument, but the council would not allow that because it would "spoil the church." They finally conceded the space between two of the massive columns, of which the artists made use as a monumental frame for the tomb. This fortuitous architectural arrangement was an important step in the evolution of the Renaissance wall tomb, which was now to replace the Gothic type. Donatello is credited with the design of the whole monument, and he executed at least the effigy of the pope, probably also the two scroll-bearing putti carved on the face of the sarcophagus, which, supported on consoles, foreshadows the cathedral cantoria (no. 650). The three Virtues below are by Michelozzo, and the Madonna in the lunette above is probably the work of Pagno di Lapo Portigiani.

It is unfortunate that the artists felt obliged to fill the whole space allotted them. The monument is more pleasing if we imagine the lower part removed. The three divisions of sarcophagus, bier raised high on lion supports, and lunette make a fine composition, one which set the pattern for fifteenth century tombs (cf. nos. 654, 655, 658). Even from the great height at which it is here placed the effigy is clearly visible, so dexterously has Donatello arranged it. Though in the inscription (IOANES QVODAM PAPA XXIII^{O} OBIIT FLORENTIE ANO DNI MCCCCXVIIII XI KALENDAS IANVARII) Cossa's title as pope is mentioned, he is not shown in papal costume, but in the mitre and robe of a bishop. His draperies are arranged simply, producing a fine decorative effect, and his features are broadly modeled, without the realistic detail which characterizes so much of Donatello's portrait work; yet the outstanding characteristic of the man is clearly stamped there, the sensual vulgarity that cost him the papacy he had so unjustly gained.

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Donatello (c. 1385-1466)

Annunciation (c. 1433)

Sandstone, with Gilding; Putti, Painted Terra Cotta. Figures c. Life-Size

Florence, S. Croce

There is a story, unconfirmed by documents, of Donatello accompanying his older friend Brunelleschi to Rome after the latter had been defeated in the competition for the second doors of the baptistery in 1402 (see p. 13). If Donatello did go to Rome at this early age, the classical art that he saw there exerted but little influence upon him, unless it was to interest him in the Augustan type of illusionistic relief (cf. no. 646). The journey to Rome that we are sure of took place in his middle age, in 1432-1433. His contact at that

time with ancient monuments had a distinct effect upon his work of the following decade; afterward the classical spirit gradually gave place to the native realistic spirit, which had appeared in his art from its beginnings.

One of the fruits of Donatello's Roman journey is surely the tabernacle of the Annunciation made for the altar of the Cavalcanti in S. Croce. This work has frequently been attributed to an earlier date because of the fresh, youthful conception of the figures, but the many classical motives in the architectural framework and the classical character of the figures themselves have led recent critics to place it near the date of Donatello's return from Rome, that is, about 1433. The later date has been further supported by a consideration of some representations of the Annunciation by Bernardo Rossellino; one of these, done in 1447, shows marked influence of the S. Croce group; the other, dated 1433, shows as unmistakably that its author had never seen Donatello's creation, which is equivalent to saying that the latter did not then exist; for in S. Croce Rossellino would certainly have seen it frequently.

The tabernacle is a compositum of antique motives: the winged wreath in the concave predella, the scaled pilasters, the mask capitals, the egg-and-dart pattern and patera of the architrave, the garland-bearing putti at the top. All these and the elaborate intarsia design of the wall and chair behind the figures produce a somewhat overloaded effect, especially since coloring and gilding are profusely employed. The soft, easily-worked sandstone, that constitutes the principal part of the monument, and the terra cotta, used for the crowning putti, probably sufficed, together with the artist's desire of recording many reminiscences of the antique, to tempt him to unusual elaboration. The form of the monument as a whole suggests Greek tomb steles. The stele of Demetria and Pamphile (no. 127) is a good parallel for the depth of the recess in which the figures are placed and for their high relief, practically in the round. The Hegeso stele (no. 125) is probably a fitter parallel for the spirit of the work. Some such stele Donatello may have seen.

Though heavily draped, the figures of the Virgin and Gabriel are carefully modeled so that we can appreciate the beauty of their forms. Praising these figures, Vasari says that they "prove his (Donatello's) determination to discover that beauty of ancient art which had been concealed for so many years." The heads, too, are of classic beauty: the softly waving hair, parted in the middle, is comparable to Greek work (cf. no. 131); and the expressions, placid and impersonal, contrast strongly with Donatello's searching realism. In one respect, however, the work is not classical - in the momentary movement of the figures. The startled Virgin rises at the approach of the angel. She turns to flee, but at the same time bends in respectful acknowledgment of the salutation. As she is in the act of rising, the angel is in the act of kneeling. The terra cotta putti at the top, too, are full of animation. They look down half-frightened at their dizzy height and cling to each other for protection. The garland motive may have been inspired by Roman sarcophagi: such a Roman example is in the Metropolitan Museum. Probably, as has been suggested, Donatello saw the Roman urn of Lucius Lucilius Felix, now in the Capitoline Museum, before he made these putti and those on the Florentine cantoria (no. 650) and the Prato pulpit. The two putti reclining on the arch were at one time detached, and were but recently recovered, much mutilated, from the storeroom, and replaced on the tabernacle.

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Donatello (c. 1385-1466)

David (c. 1433)

Bronze. H. 5 ft., 2 in.

Florence, Bargello

Another work which has been variously dated but like the S. Croce Annunciation shows Donatello's interest in the antique aroused by the Roman sojourn is the bronze David in the Bargello. It is the first nude statue since the antique and the first statue that Donatello made to be viewed from all sides. He had already worked out a considered treatment of statues to be seen from limited viewpoints, when placed in niches: such are his statues for Or San Michele and for the campanile. And he had already modeled statuettes to be

seen from all angles: the putti that he executed for the Siena baptismal font are free-standing and entirely nude. The bronze David is a further development of the spirit evinced in these statuettes, the classical spirit, which is primarily concerned with beauty of form rather than with significance of expression. As the work of an artist who normally cared little for the mere beauty of form, who ever searched the depths of individual character and sometimes pushed realism so far that artistic effect was sacrificed, the elegant, polished treatment of the figure, the placid, almost expressionless features of this David must represent a conscious effort to emulate the spirit of the ancients. Donatello has not even tried to be true to the Biblical character. Were it not for the sword and the head of Goliath we would much sooner take this for a representation of a mythological character, of Hermes, for example, of whom there is a statue in Florence that may well have been Donatello's model for the work, even to the broad-brimmed hat. The double curve of the figure suggests a Praxitelean prototype (cf. no. 129). But we miss the Praxitelean suggestion of softness in the flesh. It seems more firm and the pose a little stiff.

There are further reminiscences of the antique in details: the wreath that serves as a base, and the winged helmet of Goliath, with the cameo ornament on which winged putti are pulling Cupid and Psyche in a chariot.

The bronze David was executed as a fountain figure for the court of the Medici palace. After the expulsion of Piero di Lorenzo in 1495 it was taken to the court of the palace of the Signoria, whence it was removed in 1555 to make way for Verrocchio's putto with a dolphin.

Donatello executed other statues of David. The marble figure in the Bargello is an early work, fully draped, and very Gothic in spirit. Another marble version is more closely related to the Bargello bronze. It is a partially draped figure done, apparently, for Donatello's stanch patron Roberto Martelli, in whose family it remained until recently, when it came into the Widener collection, near Philadelphia. Assistants are blamed for certain unhappy details of this marble; a bronze replica in Berlin corrects the faults.

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Donatello (c. 1385-1466)

Cantoria (1433-1439)

Marble and Mosaic. H. of Cantoria, c. 9 ft.; H. of Frieze of Putti, 3 ft., 2 in.

Florence, Opera del Duomo

Late in 1433, after his return from Rome, Donatello began working on the singing gallery for the cathedral at Florence. Luca della Robbia had been given a similar commission in 1431 (cf. no. 663), and the two galleries were finished at about the same time and were placed above the two sacristy doors. They remained intact until 1688 when, on the occasion of the marriage of Ferdinando de' Medici, son of Cosimo III, they were removed to make room for larger cantorie to accommodate the enlarged orchestra of the day. At that time Donatello's gallery was dismembered, its relief relegated to a storeroom and forgotten, and its architectural members used in repairs on the cathedral. Only the lower part, with the brackets, was left in place to support the new cantoria until 1841. In 1883 the destroyed parts were restored in plaster with fragments of the original serving as model, and the gallery was reunited as we see it in the Opera del Duomo to-day. There are still two details lacking: in the round frames between the brackets in the lower section there must once have been bronze plaques, probably representing lions' heads.

There are many antique details: the acanthus leaves used in several places, the urns, the rayed heads, the shell designs, the egg-and-dart pattern, and the dancing putti themselves. But Donatello has adapted them to his own fashion, so that the work could never be mistaken for Greek or Roman; and he has conceived the original device of decorating the marble background of the reliefs with inlays of bits of gold glass and green pottery and of placing pairs of columns of similar workmanship at rhythmic intervals in front of the frieze so that the putti are given actual atmospheric space in which to move.

Movement, joyous and abandoned, is the keynote of this charming frieze. Ever after his visit to Rome Donatello seemed to feel the Bacchic joy of pagan art. On his most serious religious works he put these gaily sporting putti as decorative touches. To honor the precious relic of the Virgin's girdle treasured by the Prato cathedral he designed at the same time he was working on the cantoria for Florence a pulpit with groups of these rollicking putti instead of the story connected with that relic, which had originally been intended.

Donatello had a good deal of assistance in carving the cantoria; most of the architectural details must have been executed by assistants, who are also to be credited with the two ends of the putti frieze and a large share of the left half of the front part. The finest part is that at the right, than which nothing could be more expressive of excited movement. Nature, as much as classical monuments, has been the model for these glad children, for they are children in spite of the tiny wings fastened to their shoulders. As the spectator moves from side to side to see the forms that are hidden by the columns, they seem actually to dash hither and thither over the path strewn with leaves and flowers behind the columns. There are photographs that show the frieze without the columns. These photographs are useful for study but not for giving the original effect. Neither is the low placing of the cantoria in the well-lighted Opera satisfactory for suggesting the original effect. The illusion must have been much greater when the gallery was seen in its high place above the sacristy door in the dimly lighted cathedral, where the gayety of the putti was enhanced by contrast with the surrounding solemnity, and where the mosaic background glowed with a more pleasing softness than now.

A bronze bust of Cupid in the Widener collection, near Philadelphia, and two marble cherub heads in the Walters collection, Baltimore, all attributed to Donatello, should be mentioned in connection with the cantoria. The Cupid is more restrained than the tumultuous putti of the cantoria, but it is conceived in the same joyous pagan spirit. The tondo reliefs of cherub heads bear some resemblance to the cherub heads that are connected by garlands on the bottom cornice of the cantoria, a resemblance that is enhanced in one instance by a mosaic background.

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Donatello (c. 1385-1466)

Zuccone (Pumpkin-Head) (1435-1436)

Marble. H. c. 9 ft.

Florence, Campanile of the Cathedral

In 1334 Giotto commenced the campanile of the cathedral at Florence. After his death the direction of the work passed, as we have seen (p. 9), to Andrea Pisano and Francesco Talenti in succession. The tower was roofed in 1359, and between 1360 and 1390 the niches on the west and south sides were filled with statues. Those executed for the south side are still in situ. But those originally placed on the west side were in 1464 relegated to the north side of the tower, where they are scarcely visible; for between the years 1415 and 1436 Donatello and Giovanni di Bartolo, called Il Rosso, made for the northern and eastern niches eight statues, four of which the authorities transferred in 1464 to the most prominent location (on the west side) in place of the antiquated works of the quattrocento, and the other four of which are on the east side. This exchange of positions explains the incongruous labels on the pedestals of the statues that now stand on the west side: the inscription DAVID REX applies to one of the statues now on the north side and not to Donatello's famous work.

There is some uncertainty as to the respective shares of Donatello and Il Rosso in the statues of the east side; but our data concerning those on the west is complete: from left to right - the Baptist was done by Donatello in 1423-26; the Zuccone (Job?) was done by Donatello in 1435-36; Jeremiah was done by Donatello in 1427; and Obadiah (?) was done by Il Rosso in 1422. The Zuccone belongs, therefore, to the period subsequent to Donatello's Roman sojourn, which may explain the likeness that has frequently been noted between it and ancient statues of orators and philosophers. This comparison is sug-

gested primarily by the costume. Like the Demosthenes in the Vatican (no. 154), the Zuccone wears sandals and a himation draped over the left shoulder and falling to the feet. But how different is the arrangement of the folds. The folds of the orator's costume are comparatively schematic and are drawn tightly across the right leg so that the statuesque character depends upon the body beneath the drapery rather than upon the drapery itself. The folds of the Zuccone's costume are treated in a modern, impressionistic manner. They fall in broad masses and totally conceal the bodily forms beneath, as much heavy drapery would actually do. It is the drapery, then, that determines the statuesque character of the work; falling clear to the ground, it functions as the support of the nine feet of marble. When this choice of motivation is made by a master of anatomy such as Donatello, who had not the slightest insufficiency of knowledge to conceal, we can understand why the effect is so monumental.

But it is the head of the Zuccone that has from Donatello's own time constituted the great fascination of the statue. It, too, has its relation to the antique: it recalls the realism of many Roman portrait heads (cf. no. 156). But the similarity in this instance is probably due more to the similarity of motives and methods of the artists than to any conscious imitation on Donatello's part. The sculptors of those Roman heads were, like Donatello, interested in a realistic interpretation of their subjects. Donatello has pushed realism to the point where it merges into caricature; but that is a criticism that can be made only from close observation of the statue or from an examination of the photograph. Donatello had a marvelous gift of visualizing his sculpture in its destined place even as he was working on it: seen in its place high up on the tower by the spectator in the street below the awkward pose of the long, ape-like arms is less offensive, the exaggerated height of the figure is minimized, the coarseness of the features is softened, and the hollow eyes look down with the sad, aimless gaze of a worn-out old man, whose huge frame, bespeaking past vitality and power, serves only to enhance the present emptiness and lack of energy and interest in life. He is like one who has squeezed all the essence from life and is left finally with the empty rind. The head is said to be a portrait of Giovanni Cherichini. There are no attributes to indicate which Biblical character he was intended to represent. Donatello's contemporaries soon nicknamed him il Zuccone, pumpkin-head, or bald-pate, though his head is actually covered with close-cropt hair. Vasari tells us that the statue was considered the finest that Donatello had ever executed so that when he wished his oath to be credited Donatello was accustomed to say, "By the faith that I bear to my Zuccone." The vivid lifelikeness of the statue fascinated the sculptor as it did others and he is said to have exclaimed repeatedly as he worked at it, "Speak, speak, or may a dysentery seize thee!" He must have been proud to carve on the plinth: OPVS DONATELLI.

652

Donatello (c. 1385-1466)

Equestrian Portrait of Gattamelata (1446-1453)

Bronze. H. of Equestrian Group, c. 9 ft.

Padua, Piazza S. Antonio

Perhaps the most perfect synthesis of Donatello's realism and classicism is attained in his monument to Gattamelata, the first bronze equestrian statue made in Italy since the antique. The great generalissimo had been dead three years when Donatello received the commission for the monument, and yet, whether he depended primarily upon his memory or whether, as is more likely, he had portraits to work from, he could scarcely have created a more vivid impression of reality if he had had the living man to pose. The essential characteristics of the general are even more clearly presented, probably, than they would have been if the sculptor had worked from the living model. Accidents of feature and momentary expression did not distract attention from the outstanding characteristics of astuteness, courage, and iron will, with which Gattamelata's whole career had impressed his contemporaries, characteristics that had won for him his high position as generalissimo of the Venetian forces (1438) - for Erasmo da Narni (born 1370), the son of an obscure baker, received no preferment by right of birth.

Perhaps the lack of the living model aided Donatello, too, in viewing his work with the eyes of a classical master. In spite of the minute characterization of the general, we accept the statue as a type: this is the way a great general looks. No striking action catches our attention; we feel, rather, the potential power of the military leader, as standing before the statue of Apollo at Olympia (no. 101) we feel the potential power of the god. In this sense the Gattamelata is more classical in spirit than Verrocchio's more theatrical Colleoni (no. 673). There is a wealth of classical details, also, in Donatello's work. The winged Gorgon's head on the front of the general's cuirass is inspired by antique models; there is a whole procession of little musical cupids carved in relief around the lower band of the cuirass; below this is a frieze of Gorgon heads; on the greaves are rayed heads such as had been used on the cantoria (no. 650); on the pommel at the back of the saddle nude putti play on horses; and nude putti carved almost in the round support the pommels, front and back, like caryatids. All these minutiae of detail help to concentrate attention on the general, to make him dominate the great horse in spite of his comparatively small size. The breed of this mighty steed can be recognized among the horses of Lombardy; Donatello must have made studies from living animals; but classical prototypes must have taught him how to generalize the forms; they are treated so broadly that in spite of its dominating size the horse does not detract from the importance of the rider. The bronze horses over the entrance of St. Mark's at Venice (cf. no. 182 a) are credited with having served as Donatello's models. The obvious prototype of the whole group of horse and rider is the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius (no. 166), which Donatello had seen in Rome a few years before he received his Gattamelata commission. He surpassed that prototype in every respect. Another equestrian portrait which Donatello must have studied is that of Sir John Hawkwood (no. 782) painted by Uccello on the wall of the cathedral at Florence in 1436.

Donatello received his commission from the Venetian Republic in 1446; the statue was cast and the pedestal erected in the following year; but the monument was for some reason not unveiled until 1453. It was given a splendid setting in the square before the church of S. Antonio in Padua (cf. no. 607), where, raised on its high pedestal, the group can be seen from all sides, silhouetted, from many viewpoints, against the sky. The tall pedestal is reminiscent, again, of the fresco of Hawkwood (no. 782), where the portrait is raised above the sarcophagus. Donatello's work, too, is suggestive of a tomb monument; for the feigned doors in the lower part of the pedestal suggest entrances to a tomb chamber. In the reliefs on the upper part of the pedestal, representing putti supporting the warrior's arms, classical motives reappear.

653

Donatello (c. 1385-1466)

The Magdalene (c. 1455)

Wood. c. Life-Size

Florence, Opera del Duomo

Had not Donatello shown a remarkable versatility from his earliest activity, it would be hard to imagine how the same master that covered so many monuments with charming putti, full of joyous gayety, could carve such a figure as the Magdalene that he made toward the end of his life for the altar of the Magdalene in the baptistery at Florence. From this gaunt, emaciated figure all joy in life has departed. It has reached the point where life joins hands with death and one hardly knows whether this is a being whom death has refused to take even when all vitality has departed, or whether it is a corpse that ceases not even in death to mumble its penitent prayers. The slender hands and delicate features, shrunken to a skeleton as they are, still recall the former beauty of this creature that can now hardly be called a woman. The memory of that loveliness that many artists before and since Donatello delighted to portray makes the ugliness of this figure the more appalling. Yet no representation of the Magdalene in her beauty has been more popular than this. The heart is touched by a penitence that has sacrificed all physical beauty and joy to the expiation of sins, a penitence that, far from seeming a momentary impulse, has lasted from youth to old age and promises to continue through eternity.

The statue is closely related to bronze figures of John the Baptist done in this late period of Donatello's life. The polished surfaces of the bronze, however, mitigate somewhat the harshness that the opaque wood of our statue enhances. The later addition of a heavy coat of brown paint has made the work look more crude than it originally appeared, and the metal halo, which is likewise of later date, is insuited to the statue.

As in the case of some of his statues on the campanile, among which the Zuccone is most closely comparable (no. 651), Donatello apparently chose a living model for the Magdalene, not copying it slavishly, but sorting out and emphasizing the characteristics that appealed to him.

654

Rossellino, Bernardo (1409-1464)

Tomb of Leonardo Bruni (p. 1444)

Marble and Porphyry. H. 20 ft.

Florence, S. Croce

Bernardo Rossellino was the oldest of five brothers, all of whom were artists or artisans, but only he himself and the youngest, Antonio (cf. nos. 658, 659), became famous. Bernardo was greater as an architect than as a sculptor. It is therefore not surprising that his most architectural work in sculpture should have been his best. This was the first of a series of tombs which he made, the Bruni tomb in S. Croce.

Leonardo Bruni was at one time secretary to Pope John XXIII (cf. no. 647), and later he was secretary of the Florentine Republic. But his compatriots valued his literary work above his political services. It was because of his high standing culturally that when he died, in 1444, he was given an imposing funeral "in the manner of the ancients" - his body was draped in purple silk, a copy of his history of the Florentine Republic, Laudatio Florentiae, was placed on his breast, and an eloquent oration was delivered by a prominent citizen.

Bernardo Rossellino has represented Bruni in his rôle of literatus, his hands folded above his book that lies on his breast, and his head wreathed in laurel. On his sarcophagus floating angels hold a plaque inscribed with an epitaph that is wholly pagan in thought; it may be translated: "Now that Leonardo has left this life, history is in mourning, eloquence has become mute, and it is said that neither the Greek nor the Latin Muses have been able to keep back their tears." Motives inspired by Roman art are abundantly used throughout the monument: winged genii bearing garlands form a frieze across the base; lion heads and claws support the sarcophagus, and eagles support the bier; while acanthus leaves, egg-and-dart, and bead-and-reel are among the classical details of the framework. At the very top of the monument winged putti support a wreath which encloses the Bruni coat of arms. The only definitely Christian feature is the decoration of the lunette, the Madonna and Child adored by angels.

All the essentials of the sculpture of the Bruni tomb are present in Donatello's tomb of Pope John XXIII (no. 647); but whereas Donatello's work is dominantly sculptural, Bernardo's is dominantly architectural, and the total effect is greatly improved. The two huge columns between which the pope's tomb stands suggested the use of enclosing columns or pilasters as an integral part of the tomb, and Bernardo found a type of frame ready to hand in the tabernacles on Or San Michele, with their fluted pilasters and round arches. The arch on the Bruni tomb, so massive and therefore strongly emphasized, suggests the Roman triumphal arch and thus contributes to the exaltation of the figure of the deceased. The prominence of the figure is further enhanced by the omission of one of the stages in Donatello's tomb (the stage with the three personifications), by widening the bier cloth, by increasing the height of the three slabs behind the figure, and by using slabs of a color that contrasts with the color of the figure - they are a dark red porphyry. Thus the recumbent figure, with the minutely decorated pendant bier cloth, easily dominates the whole monument. Paint originally emphasized this dominant part yet more: traces of polychromy are still visible on the eagles and ornaments of the bier

cloth and on the angels holding the epitaph. Draperies are beautifully rendered, with flowing, if somewhat schematic, folds; and the face of Bruni is an excellent piece of realistic portraiture.

The Bruni tomb is important in the history of Renaissance sculpture, because it determined the style of monumental wall tombs for decades to come. Desiderio da Settignano (cf. no. 655) and Antonio Rossellino (cf. no. 658) might refine upon Bernardo's type, but they could not surpass it in clarity and dignity and in architectonic purity.

655 a, b, c

Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1464)

Tomb of Carlo Marsuppini (p. 1455)

Marble. H. to Top of Arch, 20 ft.

Florence, S. Croce

It would be natural to assume that Desiderio da Settignano was too young to have felt the direct influence of Donatello before the latter took up his long sojourn in Padua, in 1443. But Desiderio, as if he had a premonition of the brevity of his life, matured very early. Only about two years after Donatello had gone to Padua Desiderio was employed by Brunelleschi in the decoration of the Pazzi Chapel, for which he completed the exterior frieze of putti heads by Donatello (cf. no. 588 a). Already in these the young sculptor betrayed his admiration for Donatello: from that master he learned the art of catching the spirit of childhood. Desiderio's sculpture always seems less classical than Donatello's: Donatello interpreted classical art for himself; Desiderio's contact with it was probably indirect, through Donatello.

In the work for which he is most noted, the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini, secretary of the Florentine Republic, Desiderio seems to have consciously avoided classical motives. The monument of Leonardo Bruni (no. 654) erected by Bernardo Rossellino in S. Croce a decade earlier was obviously taken as model. For Desiderio was not a very inventive master; his genius consisted, rather, in an exquisite taste, which enabled him to refine upon the inventions of others. Nearly every detail of the Bruni monument has become more pleasing in Desiderio's adaptation; and the classical motives have been almost completely suppressed in favor of simpler, more natural motives. Thus, instead of Roman eagles, small projections decorated with a simple floral design support the bier; instead of scroll-bearing genii, beautifully modeled vine-work decorates the sarcophagus, and a winged shell is placed below it to avoid a long, black shadow like that beneath Rossellino's sarcophagus, as the low-hanging bier cloth serves a similar purpose between the bier and the sarcophagus. The flowers and fruits that decorate the face of the arch, fill the urns, and hang in garlands on the base and from the flaming vase at the top of the monument have a beauty of modeling and a naturalism comparable to Augustan work (cf. no. 159). Even to the smallest motives on the monument the carving is of an exquisite refinement and precision that will bear the closest scrutiny.

As in the Bruni tomb, the bier is placed lower than in Donatello's monument of Pope John XXIII (no. 647), and is tipped at such an angle that the face and figure are clearly visible to the spectator standing on the floor. The face is naturalistically modeled, with most delicate surface gradations, though we miss the deep penetration of character that usually characterizes Donatello's portraits (cf. nos. 647, 651). The beautiful, sensitive hands are clasped about a book, for Marsuppini was a literatus of note, as well as statesman. Sleep, rather than death, rests on his features, and funereal gloominess is avoided throughout the monument. The little guards that stand on the base at either side, with shields decorated with the arms of the deceased's family, seem about to rush at each other in mock battle. They are playful little creatures, real boys in spite of the wings attached to their shoulders. A cheery little John the Baptist from the Martinelli collection and now in the Widener collection, near Philadelphia, is their slightly older brother. The garland bearers that stand on the cornice above are exultant, almost Bacchic in their joyous abandon. The angels in the arch bend in glad adoration before the Madonna and Child, whose emotions are wholly carefree and happy. There is no suggestion of gloomy foreboding in the face of the Virgin; the Child smiles

merrily, and the gesture of His raised hand is more like a caress than a sign of blessing. Of the original coloristic effect that enhanced the cheerful aspect of the monument only the colors of the marble panels in the background of the niche remain; slight traces of applied color indicate that the bier cloth was green, with gold pattern, the background of the frieze and fruit garlands blue.

656

Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1464)

Tabernacle (c. 1460)

Marble. H. c. 12 ft.

Florence, S. Lorenzo

Desiderio was par excellence a sculptor of infancy. He delighted, particularly, in the fabrication of little marble and terra cotta busts, usually giving them, naturalistic as they are, some attribute to designate them as the Christ Child or the infant John the Baptist. The most famous example is the bust of a laughing boy in the Benda collection in Vienna. American collections boast a representative number of busts attributed to Desiderio, and in the Marquand collection at Princeton is a full-length terra cotta bambino, from a presepio, which is closely related in style to the Christ Child of the S. Lorenzo tabernacle. The figures of children on the Marsuppini tomb (no. 655) are its most fascinating accessories; and children, some posing as such, others posing as angels, cherubim, and the Christ Child, make up the principal part of the decoration of the tabernacle in S. Lorenzo.

The tabernacle is designed to hold the host. The tiny door that gleams with a golden sheaf is the center of the monument. As a fit setting for that little opening into the sacred receptacle, a most elaborate framework has been designed. An arcaded hall covered with a coffered vault of the design made by Brunelleschi for Masaccio's Trinity (no. 777) leads to that opening. Out through the arches troop groups of angels, bending in adoration before the door and singing their praise. Two younger angels on the architrave of the tabernacle bow fervently before the Christ Child, Who, raised on a chalice, makes the sign of blessing. Sweet-faced choir boys stand at either side of the tabernacle holding the large candlesticks to light the altar. All these figures and the charming cherubim that are wedged in everywhere - in the spandrels above the coffered vault, in the richly modeled frieze, and in the crowning lunette - are far more successful than the Pietà carved in the space below. The modeling of this relief is lovely enough, but Desiderio could not express sorrow convincingly. He must have known the tragic Madonna reliefs by Donatello and even such figures as the wooden Magdalene (no. 653), but he could not entirely understand them, though he has left us some Madonnas in Donatello's peculiar low relief style and a wooden figure of the Magdalene that is obviously patterned after Donatello's.

657

Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1464)

Bust of Marietta Strozzi (c. 1463)

Marble. H. of Whole Bust, 20¾ in.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

Desiderio's charm was not bestowed exclusively upon child forms; Vasari praises also his portraits of young women and cites specifically a portrait of Marietta Strozzi, which he had seen in the Strozzi palace. In recent years there has been discovered in the storeroom of the Villa del Boschetto near Florence, a villa belonging to the Strozzi family, a marble bust, sadly injured by exposure to the weather and rough handling but recognizable still as a work by Desiderio. The conjecture that this bust, now in the Widener collection, represents Marietta Strozzi is very plausible. Its discovery supports the

theory that a much better preserved bust in the Berlin Museum, which had been recognized as the work of Desiderio, is likewise a portrait of Marietta Strozzi. The two busts are almost identical in feature and costume, though different in pose and expression. Both show the touch of Desiderio, who must have made them and a third one, from the Strozzi collections and still in Italy, at about the same time.

Marietta Strozzi, daughter of the Florentine banker Lorenzo di Palla Strozzi, was born in 1448. She was therefore only sixteen years old when Desiderio died. The Berlin bust shows her simply dressed, in keeping with her youth. A close-fitting bodice, probably colored green originally, is drawn together with gold laces in front and under the arms over a white lining, that also edges the top. Her hair is more elaborately dressed, with a gold chain falling on the forehead and a soft white veil binding back the longer locks and covering the ears. Dark pupils and red lips originally gave an even more animated expression to the face than it now has. The cut of the features and the arch, self-assured gaze have been aptly compared to the features and expressions of the little shield bearers on the tomb of Marsuppini (no.655). The coy expression of Marietta Strozzi is enhanced by the contemporary custom of plucking the eyebrows and the front hair so that the forehead would appear higher, a custom that was still followed in Mona Lisa's time (cf. no. 831).

In the Mackay collection, at Roslyn, New York, is an excellently preserved marble female bust attributed to Desiderio which, if not so youthful and animated as the Marietta Strozzi, has greater dignity and nobility of bearing.

658

Rossellino, Antonio (1427-1478)

Tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal (Finished in 1466)

Marble. H. of Enclosing Arch, c. 16 ft.; Effigy Life-Size

Florence, S. Miniato al Monte

Antonio Rossellino was trained in his brother Bernardo's atelier, and remained there, presumably, until about 1457, when he executed his first recorded independent work. Only a few years later, in 1461, he received the commission for his greatest work, the tomb of the cardinal of Portugal, who had died in 1459.

The exemplary life for which the cardinal has been loved inspired a commemoration of unusual splendor. A special chapel was built in S. Miniato al Monte; Luca della Robbia made glazed terra cotta decorations for its vaulting, Antonio Pollaiuolo painted the altarpiece and the angels above the marble draperies that hang about the tomb, Baldovinetti painted an Annunciation in fresco, and Rossellino, as virtuous and lovable as the cardinal himself, if we may believe tradition, sculptured the great tomb.

Bernardo Rossellino's tomb of Bruni (no. 654), which had served Desiderio as basic model for the Marsuppini tomb (no. 655), now served in like capacity for Antonio, who took also some suggestions from Desiderio's refinements upon Bernardo's design - most obviously, the treatment of the bier raised on small supports and the cover suspended from it to break the long shadow beneath. The sarcophagus was probably influenced by a Roman porphyry sarcophagus now in the Lateran. The drapery suspended at the sides of the enclosing arch finds its prototype in Donatello's tomb of Pope John XXIII (no. 647). Antonio has increased the depth of his monument so that the niche it occupies has the effect of a little chapel.

The cardinal is represented as sleeping, and about his bed we see the characters of his celestial dream: two little angels come close in sweet familiarity, holding the ends of the bier cloth at his head and feet; two others, one of them carrying a crown, alight on the capitals of the pilasters; and higher up a third pair of angels descends with a wreath encircling a bit of the starry firmament in which the Madonna and Child appear, looking down with compassion and the sign of blessing upon the faithful cardinal.

Antonio's striving after grace and animated movement attains a somewhat

unpleasant effect in the voluminous fluttering draperies of some of the angels, but, on the whole, the richness of materials and motives in the monument is tempered by a sobriety and sincerity of expression that justify the popularity of the work. Beautiful marbles, porphyry, and gilding are profusely used. Golden stars on a blue ground represent the sky from which the Virgin emerges, the opus alexandrinum of the base is green, white, and red, and the dominant color of the niche is blue. In the elaborately carved frieze of the base unicorns testify to the purity of the cardinal's life and Hercules victorious over the lion and Elias taken up into heaven (scenes carved on the ends) testify to its triumphant character.

The immediate success of the tomb is indicated by the commission which Rossellino received for its approximate duplication in Naples as the monument to Maria of Aragon.

659

Rossellino, Antonio (1427-1478)

Portrait of Matteo Palmieri (1468)

Marble. H. c. 22 in.

Florence, Bargello

A striking example of Rossellino's portraiture is the bust of the humanist Matteo Palmieri. The head is much corroded, due to exposure for many years at the door of the family mansion, but this roughness of surface does not detract from the expressiveness of the head; rather, it enhances the forceful effect. Palmieri is represented at the age of sixty-three. He was a diplomat and a historian and left an unpublished poem, Città di vita, the manuscript of which was burned, by the order of the church, after his death.

The realism of this portrait recalls Donatello's Zuccone (no. 651). The modeling is broadly done, as the subject required; for delicate, detailed treatment would have ill suited the coarse features and leather-like skin of Palmieri; and yet the work gives the most vivid impression of life.

Portrait busts of grown people occupied Rossellino much less than busts of children; for like Desiderio and so many other of his contemporaries he was fascinated by Donatello's putti; and his little busts, if not quite so delicate as Desiderio's, are famous for their interpretation of the charm of child life. A number of these busts are in American collections: in the Metropolitan Museum, in the Morgan collection, in the Boston Museum, and elsewhere.

660

Mino da Fiesole (1430-1484)

Virgin Adoring the Child, and Saints: Altarpiece (c. 1464)

Marble. H. c. 8 ft.

Fiesole, Cathedral

Mino da Fiesole, so called because he was established in Fiesole through most of his life, represents the quintessence of delicacy and grace in Florentine sculpture of the fifteenth century. He was a pupil of Desiderio da Settignano, who himself produced works of exquisite beauty; and Mino, attempting to refine a bit further upon his master's delicacy, too often ~~main~~ attained mere daintiness. We are the more willing to make such a criticism because he frequently betrayed inadequate technical knowledge and a poverty of imagination: his language was graceful, but faulty in construction and employed to convey messages of slight significance. Yet his sweetness and grace, seen in isolated works, are captivating and make us forget his shortcomings.

It is easy to find fault with the anatomical structure of the figures in the altarpiece that Mino made, probably about 1464, for the cathedral of Fiesole,

an altarpiece ordered by Bishop Salutati, as is indicated by the inscription: LEONARDVS DE SALVTATIS EPS FESVLANVS JVRIS CONSVLTVS. But the total effect is pleasing. It is a beautiful, sweet Florentine mother who kneels here and looks at her child with an expression of adoration that every mother knows. In the lateral niches stand Sts. Leonard and Remigius. Toward the latter the afflicted St. Roch raises his supplicating gaze. But St. Remigius points toward the Christ Child as the source of succor. That chubby Babe, all unconscious of the homage paid Him, laughs at the little St. John as if He thought the latter's reverent attitude were part of their play. The slender architectural forms harmonize with the figures. The arched cornice with volute terminations is not a part of Mino's original work; it has been added in painting by a restorer, who also placed on the original terminating cornice a head of Christ, not designed for the place, though it may have been done by Mino.

The Boston Museum possesses one of the most pleasing busts that can be attributed to Mino, a bust of a youth that looks as if it had been made from a death mask; the suggestion of pathos in it is suited to the artist's delicate style.

661

Civitali, Matteo (1435-1501)

Angel of the Annunciation (c. 1475)

Painted and Gilded Terra Cotta. H. 5 ft., 2½ in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Civitali was a native of Lucca, a home-loving, provincial artist, who did most of his work for his native town. The monumental character of his art was probably acquired from the example of Jacopo della Quercia, whose tomb of Ilaria (no. 640) and various other works were to be seen in Lucca. But Civitali is even more closely related to the Florentines, among whom he must have studied. He may have been a pupil of Rossellino. The provincial, peasant type portrayed by Civitali always contrasts, however, with the more delicate, aristocratic types of Rossellino and Desiderio.

The paint is poorly preserved on the terra cotta Angel of the Annunciation in the Metropolitan Museum, but the vestiges of flowered design on the tunic, of crimson on the sleeves, of gold on the hair, and of life-like coloring on the face and hands add appreciably to the charm of the statue. The wings, that once balanced the forward inclination of the figure, and the halo have been lost.

A few years after the acquisition of this figure by the Metropolitan Museum its interest was increased by the recognition of its pendant, the Virgin of the Annunciation, in a private collection in Amsterdam. The close correspondence of the two figures in size, material, and style makes their original relationship certain. The form, pose, and expression of each serve as foils to set off the charm and significance of the other: the angel is an undeveloped, childlike youth, hurrying forward with enthusiastic gladness; the Virgin is a fully developed young woman, starting back with astonished, almost resentful acknowledgment of the angel's message. The figure of the Virgin confirms the impression given by the angel that Civitali had studied Donatello's Annunciation in S. Croce (no. 648).

The proposed dating of our angel, about 1475, is based on the close relationship of the work to the two famous marble angels of the Altar of the Sacraments in Lucca, which date from 1473. Other sculptures of a little later date in the career of our artist are owned in America. They are of the same superior quality as the Metropolitan angel and constitute, with the latter, as fine a representation of Civitali's art as even his native Lucca can boast. They are all in terra cotta: a Virgin adoring the Child, Who kneels and reciprocates her devotion, is in the Gardner Museum; a Nativity group, closely similar in pose to Andrea della Robbia's (no. 666), but without the ox and ass, is privately owned in New York - the Joseph is now lent to the Metropolitan Museum.

662 a, b, c

Duccio, Agostino di (1418-c. 1481)

S. Bernardino Façade (1457-1461)

Colored Marbles. H. c. 40 ft.; H. of Virtues, c. 2½ ft.

Perugia

One of the most charming of the followers of Donatello was Agostino di Duccio. Most of his work was done in Rimini and Perugia; but he remained in Florence until his twenty-fourth year, and presumably he studied in the atelier of Donatello. In any case, his work is sufficient evidence of the fact that he was strongly influenced by one of the many phases of Donatello's art. He cared only for beautiful effects; the realistic phase of Donatello's work had no interest for him, nor did any of that master's technical achievements save the peculiar style of very low, flat relief, which we may see, for example, in Donatello's little plaque of the Madonna and Angels in Clouds, in the Shaw collection of the Boston Museum. Duccio's development of the style was ever in the direction of pictorial effect; hence Ghiberti, working on his second doors of the baptistery during the period of the younger sculptor's apprenticeship in Florence, must have been another source of inspiration (cf. no. 645).

Probably it was the fame of his work on the temple of Malatesta at Rimini that procured for Duccio the commission to sculpture the façade of S. Bernardino at Perugia (no. 624). The erection of the chapel to the honor of St. Bernardino of Siena had been determined upon by the Perugians soon after the death (1444) and canonization of that Franciscan monk, who had often been in Perugia and had done much for the betterment of her citizens. For its site they chose the spot where he had customarily preached, in front of the cloister and church of S. Francesco. In contrast to the Renaissance custom of building a fine church, leaving the façade till the last, so that frequently it was never finished, the Perugians determined upon a very simple chapel, with a splendid façade. Duccio received the commission for the façade in 1457 and finished the work in 1461.

Rich marbles were selected for the entire façade. Red Siena marble forms the background. The reliefs and statues are carved partly from yellow, partly from white, marbles; only the seraph heads in the lunette are made of the red Siena marble. In the gable, for example, the reliefs are of yellow marble set into the red marble background, which was painted blue. The blue coloring on the background here and in the lunette, recalling as it does the terra cotta sculpture of the della Robbias, has frequently led to the mistaken belief that terra cotta plaques were used for these backgrounds. Very dark green, almost black, pilasters frame the figures of Virtues on the beveled walls at the sides of the doorway. The contrast that these make with the white reliefs they frame was formerly rendered less striking, and the variously colored marbles of the whole façade were harmonized, by the use of paint on the reliefs as well as on the backgrounds; most of the paint has long since disappeared, leaving the marbles in their native colors.

The façade is conceived as a glorification of St. Bernardino and of the Virgin, of whose cult the saint was an enthusiastic promoter. St. Bernardino, so emaciated in form that the earthly seems to have vanished, leaving only spirit, is seen within a flaming mandorla in the lunette, adored by angels playing on musical instruments and by seraphim. The cult of the Virgin is represented by the Annunciation in the two upper tabernacles of the façade. The patron saints of Perugia, Costanzo and Ercolamo, are in the lower tabernacles. In the spandrels of the arch the griffin, armorial animal of that city, is twice represented in high relief. Scenes from the life of St. Bernardino, some of which defy interpretation, appear in plaques of white marble above the doors and below the tabernacles of the Annunciation. Finally, six groups of musical angels and six Virtues decorate two faces of each doorway wall. The decorative motives of the façade are partly classical, partly Renaissance, in spirit: the scrollwork of the door frames shows remarkable classical refinement; the fruit garlands just beyond vie with the masterpieces of Luca della Robbia (cf. no. 665). Other details represent the more classical phase of Renaissance style.

Gabriel and the Virgin in the two upper tabernacles on the façade and the patron saints of Perugia in the two lower tabernacles betray Duccio's in-

ability to work in the round. They are lacking in statuesque quality, and seem more like reliefs than like statues in spite of their being free standing; seldom has a sculptor been so exclusively dependent upon the language of relief as was Duccio. The griffins, in the spandrels, are almost free-standing; but all the rest of the sculpture on the façade is true relief. It is interesting to observe in the lunette how the height of the relief is increased toward the top to enhance its visibility for the spectator standing below: this device is as old as the Parthenon frieze (no. 120). But it is in the scenes from the life of the saint and in the Virtues and angels on the doorway walls that we see Duccio's characteristic flat relief. Without detailed photographs we cannot appreciate the historical scenes. A very small scale was required for them by Duccio's general design, which was of even more importance to him than beauty of details. Yet he was evidently satisfied with that strip above the doors, for it is under it that he set his signature: OPVS AVGVSTINI FLORENTINI LAPICIDAE - he had included the date in the large inscription beneath the gable: AVGVSTA PERVSIA MCCCCLXI.

The vertical reliefs of musical angels and Virtues are the most famous details of the façade. Only the creations of Botticelli (cf. nos.815, 816) are comparable to these figures in sensitive facial expression and singing line of draperies. The material, like that of the historical panels, a very fine-grained white marble, is partly responsible, no doubt, for the superiority of workmanship in these reliefs. One can imagine no more beautiful treatment of flying drapery, Duccio's favorite subject matter, than is to be found here. Our photographs show details of Humility, winged and carrying a reed scepter, as she goes forward with humble inclination of head and body, and Obedience, weary under the burden of her yoke, yet hurrying onward toward her goal.

Duccio's beautiful pictorial style is to be seen in a number of independent reliefs, some of which have come into American collections. There is a particularly fine relief of the Madonna and Child in the Morgan collection and a Madonna and Child and an unusual conception of Christ's return from the Temple in the Metropolitan Museum.

663

Robbia, Luca della (c. 1399-1482)

Singing Boys: Detail of Cantoria (1431-1438)

Marble. H. of this Detail, c. 3½ ft.

Florence, Opera del Duomo

Though the name della Robbia has become in popular usage almost a synonym for enameled terra cotta, Luca della Robbia, the oldest and most important member of this family of artists and the one who introduced the use of enameled terra cotta for sculpture, was primarily a sculptor in marble and produced his most important work, the cantoria for the cathedral at Florence, in that medium.

The cantoria is also Luca's earliest documented sculpture. He received the commission for it in 1431 and started work on it almost immediately, two years before Donatello began his pendant cantoria (no. 650). Dependence upon Donatello for the design is therefore out of the question. The architectural framework is more purely antique than that of Donatello's, though the style of Brunelleschi undoubtedly influenced both. The present restoration of the architectural details of Luca's gallery is far from correct, as the subsequent discovery of original fragments has proven. The most important correction is to be made in the pilasters dividing the upper series of reliefs: instead of the wide single forms, pairs of slender pilasters with Corinthian capitals should occupy these spaces. The lower part of the gallery, with the consoles, is Luca's original work. For this gallery suffered the same vicissitudes as those recounted in the case of Donatello's (see p. 23): in 1688 both cantorie were removed to make way for larger wooden galleries, which were placed, however, on the strong consoles that Luca and Donatello had made. It was only in 1841 that the consoles with their enclosed reliefs were removed; in 1883 the neglected parts were assembled and the present restorations were made.

Luca took the suggestion for his reliefs from Psalm 150, the words of which are inscribed on the three cornices. The eight reliefs on the front, filled

with children and young people, illustrate the praise of God with trumpets, psaltery, cithara, drums, choral dance, organ and harp, tambourine, and cymbals. On the two ends of the gallery boys are singing, in one case from a book, in the other from a scroll; they are illustrations of the beginning and end of the Psalm, the Alleluia, or "Praise ye the Lord." Though the ends of the gallery are so poorly exhibited in the museum that these reliefs have been hung in a more accessible place on the wall, they were originally more visible than any other parts of the gallery. Consequently, they were the most important reliefs on the monument and were more carefully treated than any of the others. If nothing remained to us from Luca's work but one of these two reliefs, we should know him as a great master. These boys and youths are modeled with the clarity and simplicity of Greek sculpture. Their attitudes and expressions, as they sound the various notes, or beat time with hand and foot, are studied with as fine a feeling for realism as is exhibited in that marvelous group of singing angels on the Ghent altarpiece (no. 513 d). And, what is still more important, an unmistakable sincerity and earnestness speaks from the representation: these boys are wholly absorbed in their singing. Donatello's putti, too, are intent upon their activity; but it is a kind of Bacchic frenzy that incites them; here it is solemn religious exultation that carries the singers above all earthly interest, so that it seems fitting that they should be standing as they are on clouds.

664

Robbia, Luca della (c. 1399-1482)

Madonna and Angels: Detail of Sacristy Doors (c. 1464)

Bronze. H. of Relief Panel, 21 in.

Florence, Cathedral

The popularity of the della Robbia terra cottas has tended to obscure Luca's work in bronze as well as that in marble. His only sculpture carried out entirely in bronze is the pair of doors that open into the north sacristy of the cathedral at Florence, and in this work he had associates. The commission had first been given to Donatello in 1437. Finally, after Donatello had gone to Padua, his services were despaired of and Michelozzo, Luca della Robbia, and Maso di Bartolommeo were engaged in 1445 to make the doors. But still the work was delayed, and the panels were only executed, as documents indicate, between the years 1464 and 1469.

The design of the framework, not altogether successful, is usually attributed to Michelozzo. The frame would have been more attractive with the damascened ornament, which was either never executed, or else has been cleaned almost entirely away; there is only a small section of it beneath the third panel on the right; this consists of a conventional design of inlaid silver.

The design and execution of the reliefs is attributable to Luca on documentary as well as stylistic evidence - though the style is more decisive than the documents in this case. Ghiberti exercised a strong influence upon the development of Luca's style, but the younger artist never followed that master in pictorial treatment of relief. In Andrea Pisano's baptistery doors (no.637) rather than Ghiberti's, we find the prototype of the simple, clear compositions of the sacristy doors. One form of composition, a seated figure between two smaller, standing figures of angels, is repeated in all ten panels, and yet there is no monotony: the motives are infinitely varied in detail.

The favorite panel is that of the Madonna; and this is so because the Madonna was Luca's favorite subject. It gave him opportunity to express his reverence for women and his love of little children. There is only the slightest, scarcely noticeable, suggestion of haloes, and there is little else in the accessories to indicate the divinity of this Mother and Child; yet a sweet dignity and solemnity give a sense of the divine to the realistic forms, that thus become worthy of the devout reverence of the angels.

665

Robbia, Luca della (c. 1399-1482)

Madonna from the Via dell' Agnolo (p. 1470)

Glazed Terra Cotta. H. 5 ft., 3 in.

Florence, Bargello

Soon after the completion of his cantoria, about 1440, probably, Luca della Robbia began experimenting with enamel as a finish for terra cotta sculpture. Though he may have contributed something to the perfection of the composition of enamels, his use of glazed terra cotta for sculpture seems to have been essentially an adaptation rather than an invention. Such glazes had been used in ancient times, and down through the Middle Ages they had been popular in majolica. Luca's idea was apparently to get a substitute for marble, which should be at the same time much cheaper than marble and more durable. Marble statues when exposed to the weather quickly lose the coloring that was not uncommonly applied by Renaissance artists, and soon suffer a corrosion such as we see in the case of Rossellino's bust of Matteo Palmieri (no. 659). By Luca's method the coloring was in the fired glaze so that neither color nor the terra cotta form could be injured by weather. Thus the lunette exposed until very recently in the Via dell' Agnolo, Florence, is still fresh in color and intact in surface save where it has been injured by the stones of street urchins. The doorway over which the lunette so long remained belongs to a building that was in the fifteenth century monastery of S. Giovanni Laterano, founded in 1470.

Comparing the lunette with the bronze relief of practically the same subject on the sacristy doors, the figures seem a little more animated, but the employment of the cheap, popular medium has not brought a corresponding cheapening and popularizing of ideals that one might expect. The figures seem more animated than in the bronze relief because they look out of the panel and are enlivened by color, particularly in the eyes. They are still serious and sincerely religious. It is this sincerity and religious spirit, combined with classic simplicity, that ever made Luca rise superior to his medium.

We are continually reminded of classical sculpture by the simplicity and purity of Luca's figures. But the frames that he delighted to make for his reliefs never let us forget his love of nature. He did not often represent animals. But he never tired of arranging flowers and foliage into beautifully colored garlands. The lily and rose garland that frames the lunette from the Via dell' Agnolo is not so carefully joined as many of his terra cottas, but it is sensitively modeled and beautifully colored. Each angel has been cast in one piece, but the Madonna and Child come from three molds, the heads having been cast separately.

The Madonna and Child of our lunette are closely similar to the beautiful half-length group in the Altman collection of the Metropolitan Museum, an excellently preserved terra cotta Madonna that is not placed against a background, but rests on a pedestal. In some respects, particularly in the arrangement of the Child, with His more graceful EGO SVM LVX MVNDI scroll, the Altman piece is more closely paralleled by the bronze relief on the sacristy door (no. 664). There are a number of other fine representations of Luca's glazed terra cotta sculpture in America. They are always much loved both for their decorative beauty and for their pure sculptural merits.

666

Robbia (?), Andrea della (1435-1525)

Madonna from Nativity Group (c. 1465)

Painted and Gilded Terra Cotta (Partly Repainted). H. 2 ft., 11 in.

New York, Metropolitan Museum

Andrea della Robbia was carefully instructed by his uncle, Luca, in the art of glazed terra cotta, so that it became his regular medium of expression,

and his atelier, and particularly that of his son Giovanni, who succeeded him, was a veritable factory, turning out great quantities of sculpture in glazed terra cotta. Andrea tried marble as a medium, but with little success. He must have left also some sculptures in unglazed terra cotta, a medium frequently employed by Luca. Until recently, however, none had been attributed to Andrea. Lately two groups of unglazed terra cotta figures in the round which are preserved in the cathedral at Volterra, and one of which stands before a painted background by Benozzo Gozzoli, have been attributed to Andrea on the basis of their relationship to some of his authentic glazed terra cottas. These attributions tend to place among the works of Andrea della Robbia the beautiful unglazed Nativity group which came into the Metropolitan Museum labeled as a Rossellino; for its kinship with Volterra groups is undeniable. It would seem that Andrea worked in this unglazed medium early in his career, since all three groups are characterized by the sweet simplicity of his early glazed terra cottas: they are comparable to his most famous work, the bambini on the Spedale degli Innocenti in Florence (cf. no. 589).

The pretty custom of displaying realistic sculptured groups of the Nativity characters during the Christmas season goes back to the early thirteenth century, when St. Francis initiated it. The Metropolitan Museum group is reminiscent of the custom of drawing the presepio in procession: when the group came into the possession of the museum all the figures except the Babe, which was probably placed at one time in a little manger, were mounted on blocks of wood - later, however, than the sculptured figures - and two of these blocks had chains still attached. The Virgin, the Child, Joseph, and the ox and ass make up the group. There may possibly, but not necessarily, have been other figures, shepherds and angels, originally. The ox and ass are not so well done as the other figures and must be assigned to the hands of assistants. The most beautiful figure is that of the Virgin. Her drapery, a blue mantle, edged with a gold embroidery design and worn over a crimson tunic, falls in graceful folds; and the sweet, fervent expression of her lovely face never fails to produce a sympathetic reaction in the spectator. Her waving hair, drawn back simply from her face, is painted brown, her eyes are dark, and her face and hands have a warm, rich flesh color that helps in producing a very naturalistic effect in spite of the fact that the figure is only about half life-size. None of the coloring of the figures, well preserved as it is save in a few places, has the least suggestion of gaudiness. In the crown of the Virgin's head is a hole for the attachment of a halo. As now exhibited in the museum, the figures are all without haloes, though a halo is shown in our photograph.

The pose of the St. Joseph of this group is almost duplicated in a terra cotta life-size figure of the saint by Matteo Civitali now lent to the Metropolitan Museum (see p. 32). And it is interesting to call attention here also to the terra cotta figure of the Christ Child in the Marquand collection, Princeton. It is attributed to Desiderio, but it, like Matteo Civitali's St. Joseph, evidently comes from a presepio group similar to that in the Metropolitan Museum.

667

Robbia, Andrea della (1435-1525)

Annunciation (c. 1479)

Glazed Terra Cotta. H. 6 ft., 10½ in.

La Verna, Chiesa Maggiore

In recent years the work of Andrea della Robbia has depreciated in the eyes of critics through comparison with the more classic art of Luca. Undoubtedly, much of Andrea's production is less virile, more commonplace than the stately, serene work of his uncle, who was still in a class with Donatello, while Andrea falls into a class with such artists as Desiderio and Rossellino. But this second class has its attractions: Andrea made up in charm and gracious appeal what he lacked in power and breadth. And sometimes he attained to the nobility of his master.

A series of altarpieces that Andrea executed in glazed terra cotta for the cathedral at La Verna shows him at his best. The Annunciation was hardly excelled by Luca in simple beauty of composition and dignity of conception, and

in technical execution it is, like much of Andrea's sculpture, equal to Luca's. The serious, reverent Virgin and the fervent, eager Gabriel are beautiful figures, making, with the lilies that the angel has placed in an amphora, a most effective composition. One wishes that Andrea had been satisfied to stop with that; but his zeal for elaboration was destined to mar even his finest works. He was so fond of captivating baby heads, whose sweet innocence and individuality he could express as no other artist, that he could not resist introducing a garland of them here, encircling the bust of God the Father as an excuse for their presence. The too obtrusive dove, also, and the dizzy flecking of clouds over the background detract from the exquisite effect.

A partly visible inscription on the open book in the Virgin's lap is taken from Isaiah, vii, 14: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel". In the predella of the altarpiece is inscribed the Virgin's reply to Gabriel as given in Luke, i, 38: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to Thy word." At the ends of this inscription are the arms of the Niccolini family, whose chapel the altarpiece decorates.

American possesses many good examples of Andrea della Robbia's art. His sculptures have been much easier to acquire than Luca's, not only because, working almost always in terra cotta, he was more prolific than his uncle, but also because he made many altarpieces and small reliefs both for churches and for individuals, while Luca devoted a large share of his activity to less movable works, such as the decoration of vaults, exteriors of buildings, and similar architectural undertakings.

668

Robbia, Giovanni della (1469-c. 1529)

Lamentation over the Dead Body of Christ (p. 1515)

Glazed Terra Cotta. H. 7 ft., 10½ in.

Boston, Gardner Museum

Glazed terra cotta sculpture had been kept at the high level of the best fifteenth century marble sculpture by its inventor, Luca della Robbia. Andrea had compromised very little to its popularity. But in the hands of the third generation it sunk to the level of a popular factory product, in which artistic effect is sacrificed to gaudiness and crudity.

Giovanni della Robbia, though trained by his father, Andrea, lacked the latter's fine artistic sense. He might not have fallen so far if he had given his originality a chance to develop. But commissions were numerous, and he was impatient. He found it easier and more profitable to imitate the style popular at the moment. Thus, he imitated his father until Verrocchio became more popular than Andrea, a popularity established by the Or San Michele group of Christ and St. Thomas (no. 672) in 1483. Further, he found that when catering to popular demand it did not pay to spend the time and care required to obtain the pure, delicate colors that are so pleasing in the works of Luca and Andrea. The more easily obtained gaudy colors had even greater appeal to the masses, and he did not worry too much about harmonizing them, but devoted his attention to producing naturalistic effects, trying to imitate flesh color in glazes and even leaving nude parts unglazed, in some cases, so that naturalistic color could be applied.

One of Giovanni's better reliefs, a variant of one in the Bargello at Florence, is the altarpiece of the Lamentation over the Dead Body of Christ in the Gardner Museum. The piece was acquired from a private owner in Rome, but that it was probably made originally for a country Dominican church is suggested by the representation of a saint favored by rustics, St. Anthony Abbot, along with St. Dominic, in the predella. Between these two half-lengths in the predella is an inscription taken from Lamentations, i, 12: O VOS OMNES QVI TRANSITIS PER VIAM ATENDITE ET VIDETE SI EST DOLOR SIMILIS SICVT DOLOR MEVS - "O all ye that pass by, behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow." This lamentation of Jerusalem we are to imagine as expressing the feeling of the Virgin and of her two companions, John and Mary Magdalene, as they mourn over the body of their Master. The group is in the style of

Verrocchio and is quite fine. The background, too confused in detail, is probably the work of assistants, of whom Giovanni had many. The hill of Golgotha is in the distance on the left, the Maries at the Tomb, on the right. Just above the Pietà group hover two rather pert looking angels holding, besides the instruments of passion, the napkin of St. Veronica. Behind the upper half of the angels is a weird area of purple and yellow clouds that someone has compared to tigers' stripes. Probably they are meant to suggest the atmospheric upheaval that accompanied the Crucifixion; they are hardly less conventional than the stripes in the backgrounds of mediaeval miniatures. The frame, with its naturalistic, but rather crudely wrought, fruit and flowers, is also probably the work of assistants. It is far removed from the delicately colored wreaths of Luca della Robbia.

669

Buglioni, Santi (1494-1576)

Clothing the Naked: Detail of Frieze of the Seven Deeds

of Mercy (1526-1528)

Glazed Terra Cotta. H. 4 Ft., 5 in.

Pistoia, Ceppo Hospital

The last phase of the art of glazed terra cotta initiated by Luca della Robbia and practiced by his followers for generations is to be seen in the frieze of the Seven Deeds of Mercy that runs above the arcade of the loggia of the Ceppo Hospital at Pistoia. The frieze used to be attributed to Giovanni della Robbia, but in recent years documents have been discovered that prove the author of most of it was Santi Buglioni. This artist was the pupil (not son) and successor of Benedetto Buglioni, who, in turn, had probably been a pupil of Antonio Rossellino, but who practiced and taught, nevertheless, the della Robbia methods of glazing terra cotta. In six of the seven divisions of the frieze Santi depicted in realistic and circumstantial representations six Deeds of Mercy (Clothing the Naked, Lodging the Stranger, Visiting the Sick, Visiting Prisoners, Burial of the Dead, Feeding the Hungry). As the director of these merciful undertakings is shown in each case Leonardo Buonafede, who had originally given the loggia in 1512 and who having subsequently become, in 1522, spedalingo (or director) of the hospital, was appropriately so represented, quite apart from the fact that he was the commissioner of Santi's work. Throughout the frieze the coloring is brilliant and inharmonious; bright greens and yellows are conspicuous; to heighten the variety, contrasting colors are used even for the backgrounds.

While all the other Deeds of Mercy are on the façade of the loggia, facing the square, Clothing the Naked is set by itself on the projecting end of the loggia adjoining the hospital church. Against a blue-green background the spedalingo in Augustinian garb stands in the middle of the relief. Near him to the right stand two nuns in blue and violet robes, one of whom places her hand on the head of a kneeling neophyte. Farther on are three lay women, the last one leading a naked child. To the left are six partly clad men, the extreme one of whom is very suggestive of Michelangelo's David (no. 677). Santi's master, Benedetto, was a member of the famous commission to decide upon the location of that statue, and may well have communicated an enthusiasm to the pupil, who openly expressed his admiration not only in his art but also by naming a son Michelangelo.

Though Santi Buglioni was more ambitious than most of his fellow workers in glazed terra cotta, his sculpture clearly shows the conservative character usual in this half industrial art. Parallels for most of the figures in Clothing the Naked are not to be sought in the works of Santi's contemporaries but in the works of artists dead before he was born. The women suggest those of Ghirlandaio (cf. no. 806) and the men those of Verrocchio (cf. no. 804). This backwardness is an indication of the time required for the ideals and inventions of the great artists to permeate the masses, for it was to the masses that glazed terra cotta ministered. The raw and gaudy coloring of Santi's relief has nothing in common with either the chiaroscuro or the tonal harmony in the painting of his day, but is a direct continuation of the somewhat harsh cheerfulness of the Florentine palette of the mid-fifteenth century. Of

quattrocento character too is his loose and monotonously balanced composition. The David, which was, to be sure, already a quarter of a century old when he made the relief, seems even in his pale reflection of the original, to have impressed Santi as something disturbingly modern and different, and he has set it apart from the rest of the composition.

It is perhaps because Buonafede left in 1529 to assume new duties as Bishop of Cortona that, although the first six sections of the frieze were done while the artist was still quite young (1526-1528), Santi never executed the seventh, Giving Drink to the Thirsty. The vacancy on the façade must have been unpleasantly conspicuous, and, to a lesser degree, the shortage of this subject. It was not added, however, until 1585, according to the inscription. The only artist that has been suggested as its author is the Pistoian painter Filippo di Lorenzo Paladini, and there is not sufficient evidence to support this suggestion. Whoever the artist, he had felt Raphaelesque influence, and he departed much further than Santi Buglioni from the traditions of the early della Robbias - the composition is more crowded than the six early divisions of the frieze, and the figures are more realistic and pictorial. It is no longer the spedalingo of Santi's day that dispenses good works, but a bearded old man, probably the spedalingo Bartolommeo Montechiari. Even the medium of this section of the frieze is different from that of the other six. Instead of glazed terra cotta it is painted stucco, the original coloring of which we cannot now judge, since it has been recolored in recent years with no attempt to duplicate the original scheme.

670 a, b

Pollaiuolo, Antonio (c. 1432-1498)

Tomb of Sixtus IV (Finished in 1493)

Bronze. L. c. 15 ft.

Rome, St. Peter's

Antonio Pollaiuolo showed the same outstanding characteristics in sculpture as in painting (cf. nos. 801-803). He was one of those fifteenth century Florentines whose art was made subservient to their scientific interests. His scientifically conceived and marvelously executed sculptures contrast with the delicate, lovely marbles of Desiderio and the psychological creations of Donatello as the paintings of Castagno or of Pollaiuolo himself contrast with the paintings of Fra Angelico and Masaccio. Only the greatest artists, like Leonardo da Vinci, could perfectly join scientific and aesthetic interests. But if Pollaiuolo's art leaves us emotionally quite untouched, it enlists our admiration.

Pollaiuolo reached the apex of his power in the monument to Pope Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere), for which he was called to Rome in 1490, and which he finished three years later. The bier on which the pope lies is not placed above a sarcophagus, as had become customary in Italian art (cf. nos. 647,654, etc.), but on a large bronze base, that extends far beyond the bier on all sides. The monument may originally have been rendered yet more imposing by being raised on a marble pedestal - the tomb has been twice moved since it was placed at the time of its execution in the chapel of Sixtus IV, for which it was intended. But it lacks no more than the marble pedestal - if, indeed, that - as we now see it in the chapel of the Sacrament. It is the only papal tomb that wholly escaped injury in the wholesale destruction of the tombs in St. Peter's during the rebuilding of the basilica under Julius II; even Pollaiuolo's tomb of Innocent VIII, executed five years after that of Sixtus IV, presents a very much altered appearance to-day.

The portrait of Pope Sixtus is naturalistic, in a wholly objective sense: Pollaiuolo was not an artist to penetrate the character of his model. Perhaps it was just as well in this case, for in the character of the worldly Sixtus he would not have found religious emotion befitting the papal regalia. This sacred costume Pollaiuolo has represented with consummate skill: the jeweled tiara is rendered with the care of a goldsmith - an art in which Pollaiuolo was proficient - and the pontifical robes and the bier cloth are chased with elaborate designs in which the Rovere oak plays an important part. On the raised slab behind the pope's head is Pollaiuolo's signature, together with

which he records his ability in the use of gold, silver, bronze, and pigment; the inscription includes also the date of the completion of the work: OPVS. ANTONI. POLAIOLI. FLORENTINI. ARG. AVRO. PICT. AERE. CLARI. AN. DO. MCCCCLXXXXIII.

Surrounding the bier are plaques that contain, besides four representations of the arms of the Rovere family and a long inscription concerning Sixtus IV, personifications of the seven Virtues. If Pollaiuolo had been less cold and impersonal, if he had had a little Venetian warmth to give his realistically rendered female forms a more voluptuous character, these personifications would have the effect of witnesses to the alleged (but unproven) immorality of the pope rather than to his virtues. As it is, one can hardly resist the feeling that they are mocking him, enjoying the sight of the mighty cut down by death. It is very unlikely that such intentions were in the mind of Pollaiuolo. The animated facial expressions and contorted poses are the results of his desire to obtain the effect of vivacity and spontaniety, as the display of body through the diaphanous draperies comes from his scientific interest in anatomy.

Still extravagant in pose, but excelling the Virtues in composition and rendition are the Arts and Sciences that occupy the irregularly bounded concave divisions of the sides of the base. The beautiful modeling of these figures, done almost in the round, their apparent ease, even in most contorted poses, and the exquisite finish of the polished bronze produce an effect that has never been surpassed. To the usual list of arts and sciences, perspective has here been added for the first time. This addition reflects the contemporary Florentine interest in perspective, to which Uccello had devoted his whole interest (cf. nos. 783, 784) and to which other artists, only less zealous than Uccello, had made important contributions. On the theoretical side, at just about the time Pollaiuolo was designing Sixtus' tomb, Leonardo da Vinci was writing his Treatise on Painting, in which perspective is given a prominent place among the sciences.

As Pollaiuolo may well have considered perspective the most important of the sciences, he has made its personification (no. 670 b) one of the most beautiful in the series. Only two besides Perspective hold the oak branch, symbol of the special protection of the cultured, even if unprincipled, Rovere. Perspective holds also an astrolabe and supports an open book on her upraised knee. On the page of the book is inscribed a quotation from the Perspectiva Communis published by John Peckham the very year in which the tomb was finished. The half-nude figure reclines on a low couch in a posture that vividly recalls the figures that decorate the delicate red Aretine vases, with which Pollaiuolo was undoubtedly familiar. Even the accessories in the compositions of the Arts and Sciences, such as the plaque hung against the background, the lamp, and the accompanying genius that appears in some of the compositions, find their prototypes on the popular Aretine ware. That Pollaiuolo was actually influenced by these ancient productions seems the more probable since the influence of Greek painted vases is clearly visible in his paintings (cf. nos. 802, 803). The conclusion is that he was enamored of some classical vase collection to which he had access, presumably that of the Medici.

A splendid bust of a young warrior in the Mackay collection should be mentioned as being the most important sculptural work of Pollaiuolo in America. It is striking in its power and vitality; such a subject was better suited to Pollaiuolo's genius than the features of a pope several years dead (Sixtus died in 1484) that had to be recalled by existing portraits.

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Verrocchio, Andrea (1435-1488)

David (c. 1465)

Bronze. H. 4 ft.

Florence, Bargello

Verrocchio, familiar to all because he was the master of Leonardo da Vinci, was, like Pollaiuolo, a scientific artist. The scarcity of work from his early years can be accounted for by his interest in experiment and his mastering of

many techniques. His earliest work that has come down to us is the bronze David in the Bargello, of about 1465.

This statue gives us at once the key to Verrocchio's scientific interests. Though partly dressed, the figure is essentially a study in the nude, since most of the costume follows the form of the body beneath. In his anatomical studies Verrocchio, like Pollaiuolo, recognized the primary importance of the skeleton. The clear indication of the bony structure gives the figure a hardness that is slightly unpleasing, perhaps, but it also gives it a remarkable sense of reality. Anatomically, the David is a perfect representation of a young boy. Aesthetically, there is room for criticism. The pose of the left arm is excellent for an exposition of anatomy, but it offends the sense of beauty. To appreciate the startling angularity of the figure one needs to see it in the Bargello in proximity to Donatello's bronze David (no. 649). The pose, in a general way, is similar in the two works. But a greater contrast of effect could hardly be imagined. It would seem that Verrocchio, with Donatello's statue in mind, had deliberately set out to demonstrate the contrast between real and classical form. Donatello's David, too, holds his left arm akimbo, but just a slightly different pose, together with less emphasis on bony structure, has rendered the lines and surfaces flowing and graceful, just as the whole figure is characterized by softness and grace. Neither statue is an attempt to represent the Biblical shepherd boy accurately: Donatello's might better pass for Hermes or Apollo than for David; Verrocchio's seems more like a young patrician, with his short jerkin richly decorated with gilded scrolls and Arabic letters and with gold fringe. He carries his own sword, not the giant's, and he has no sling. Alert and vigorous, inspired by the joy of triumph and admiration, he poises momentarily above his trophy. His gaze is only half defiant; in the long, half-open eyes there is a suggestion of the dreamy, alluring look of the Mona Lisa (no. 831), as her smile is foreshadowed on the boy's lips. Here too are the soft, curling locks that Leonardo loved. One is tempted by the suggestion that the young Leonardo, coming into Verrocchio's studio at about this time, brought in his own person these fascinating characteristics.

Verrocchio's David was made at the order of one of the Medici, probably Piero, for the Careggi Villa. In 1476 it was bought by the Signoria and moved to the Palazzo Vecchio, where it was placed at the entrance of the Sala dell' Orologio, now called the Sala del Giglio. David was a favorite subject with the Florentine Republic, a subject symbolical to the Florentines of their own liberation from tyrannical power. At the time of the purchase of the statue a pedestal was made consisting of red stone pillar and white capital carved, probably by Verrocchio himself, with musical instruments, appropriate to David the harpist, and with garlands and the lily and cross of the Republic. This pedestal is about half as tall again as the inartistic one on which the statue now stands in the Bargello.

America claims another souvenir of Verrocchio's employment by the Medici, a painted terra cotta bust in the Mackay collection. This is identified as a portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is therefore considerably later than the David. Its bold and firm modeling and its splendid expression of a vigorous and determined personality relate it more closely to the Colleoni (no.673).

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Verrocchio, Andrea (1435-1488)

Christ and St. Thomas (Marble Niche by Donatello) (1467-1483)

Bronze. Above Life-Size

Florence. Or San Michele

In 1423 Donatello made for the Parte Guelfa a bronze statue of St. Louis of Toulouse to occupy the middle marble tabernacle (also designed by Donatello) on the east side of Or San Michele. Of the fourteen niches on the exterior of the church, this was the only one assigned to a corporation outside the guilds; and the Guelfs were able to hold it only until 1459. By that time they had become so unpopular that they were forced to remove their statue, which now stands in the refectory of S. Croce; and in 1463 the Universitá dei Mercanti, the commercial tribunal of all the guilds, having come into possession of the

strategic tabernacle, commissioned Verrocchio to fill it with a bronze representation of the Doubting Thomas, the saint who, because of his incredulity, represented better than any other the attitude of the tribunal, that judgment should be withheld until truth is tangibly manifest. Wishing to make the expression of incredulity the real motive, Verrocchio was confronted with the problem of fitting two figures in action into a space designed for one figure in repose. How well he succeeded is indicated by the fact that the tabernacle seems designed for the group rather than the group for the tabernacle.

Verrocchio had commenced the work by 1467, but other commissions interrupted, and the group was not put in place until 1483. Its success was immediate and lasting. With it Verrocchio solved once for all the relationship between Christ and His doubting disciple in the moment of transition from doubt to belief. Christ stands within the niche and St. Thomas outside, so that he is a little lower than his Master, Who thus dominates by greater height as well as by superior strength of character and decisive action. Christ has just uttered the words: "Reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into My side: and be not faithless but believing." And Thomas approaches with hesitation, suggested vividly by the right foot that he seems to drag forward slowly, and by the right hand that seems to waver as he reaches it toward the Saviour's side. All lines lead toward the wound in that side, Christ's left hand and right arm lead to it, the great sweep from Thomas' right foot to his right hand leads to it, and the gaze of Christ, as well as that of Thomas, is directed toward it. The raised right hand of Christ reaches forward and unites the two planes of the group as the interplay of thought between the two characters unites the group psychologically. On the edge of Christ's mantle we read the words that Christ spoke to Thomas as the doubt was overcome: QVIA VIDISTI ME THOMA CREDIDISTI BEATI QVI NON VIDERVNT ET CREDIDERVNT - "Thomas, because thou has seen Me thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed."

A striking similarity has been pointed out between Verrocchio's group and the well-known Neo-Attic group of "Orestes and Electra" (more likely a grave monument) by Menelaus, in the Terme Museum. The general pose of the figures, and the relationship between them, the one dominating the other by height and dignity, are so nearly alike in the two groups as to make it fairly certain that in spite of the fact that the earliest known Renaissance record of the Menelaus group is dated 1623, it must have been accessible to Verrocchio a hundred and fifty years earlier. Though it very probably suggested his composition, his adaptation of it to his purpose is no less remarkable than his adaptation of his sculpture to the ready-made tabernacle.

By the time he made this group Verrocchio had so mastered anatomy that he could take a less conscious attitude toward it; the anatomy of the figures, though correct, does not demand our attention as in the David (no. 671). But the delight in experimentation is almost equally evident in the voluminous folds with which the figures are clothed. One is reminded of the beautiful drapery studies among Leonardo's drawings, where the folds are brought under better control and are of less distracting multiplicity and angularity. Again, as in the David, Verrocchio's love of elegance is manifest in the St. Thomas, who is not the poor fisherman of the Bible, but an elegant prince, fastidiously dressed, and his beautiful features framed in a rich mass of curls. The dramatic action of the group and the riotous folds of the draperies foreshadow the baroque. Dramatic action had already been represented in relief sculpture, as in Donatello's Dance of Salome (no. 646) on the Siena font, but this is the first striking appearance of it in sculpture in the round. This group had an effect upon the sixteenth century comparable to the effect of the works of Scopas (cf. nos. 134, 135) upon the Hellenistic period. It prepares us, partly at least, for the passion and dramatic movement of Michelangelo's art.

Verrocchio, Andrea (1435-1488)

Equestrian Portrait of Colleoni (1479-1488; cast, 1490-1496, by A. Leopardi)

Bronze. H. of Equestrian Group, c. 10 ft.

Venice, Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo

In studying Verrocchio's David (no. 671), one naturally makes comparisons with Donatello's treatment of the same subject (no. 649). The equestrian statues by the two artists are even more closely associated in our minds, because they stand alone; there had been many other Davids but no other bronze equestrian statues since ancient times; and the differences between the two equestrian statues are as great as the differences between the Davids - or as great as the differences between the two generals. Gattamelata (no. 652) was a baker's son, who owed his renown entirely to his own ability. Colleoni was of noble ancestry; records of his family go back into the Middle Ages. It was a family of great wealth and culture. Bartolommeo Colleoni was quite as famous for his luxuriant court in his native Bergamo as for his triumphs in the field as condottiere of the Venetian forces. He was a patron of the arts, and when he requested in his will that recognition of his services to the Venetian state he made by the erection in the Piazza S. Marco of a bronze equestrian statue, we may safely assume that, in spite of his military pride which made him request for the monument the most prominent location in the city, he had sufficient aesthetic discrimination to have cared more about the choice of the sculptor. Considering the fact that Colleoni had acquired much new territory for Venice and had left to the state the bulk of his fortune, his request would not seem excessive. In his own town, Bergamo, a splendid chapel (no.633) was erected to his memory by the famous architect and sculptor Amadeo, who richly decorated it with reliefs and sculptured for it an elaborate tomb topped with a gilded equestrian statue by Sixtus Siry of Nuremberg. Nevertheless, when the Venetian Signoria finally took up the consideration of Colleoni's request in 1479, four years after the death of the general, they decided upon a much less prominent location, but compensated for this display of ingratitude by the greatest care in the selection of an artist. Verrocchio, Bellano of Padua, and Leopardi of Ferrara were commissioned to submit colossal models. In 1481 Verrocchio's was ready for submission to the judges. After he had received the commission Verrocchio continued work on the model, which had now been transported from Florence to Venice, and had it ready for casting when he died, in 1488. The Signoria now had the problem of procuring a competent bronze founder, a matter of the greatest importance because of the great difficulty of the casting. Donatello's Gattamelata represented the only successful attempt of a parallel nature since the Roman period. In 1490 the commission was given to Leopardi, whose ability was evident to all when the work was unveiled in 1496. He reproduced with such amazing fidelity the sharp, firm modeling of Verrocchio that it is hard to understand how the deceptive inscription - ALEXANDER. LEOPARDVS. V. F. OPVS - that he chiseled on the girth of the horse could have led his contemporaries astray, causing them to consider him the author of the modeling as well as of the casting. He did, apparently, design the pedestal, which is very fine and well suited to the statue, but which more closely resembles in its details the suave, graceful style of such an artist as Desiderio than the sharp, decisive style of Verrocchio.

As Donatello's Gattamelata surpassed the Roman statue of Marcus Aurelius, Verrocchio's Colleoni excelled Donatello's Gattamelata. Verrocchio could profit by the older artist's mistakes. But there is more to it than that. Great and versatile as was Donatello, Verrocchio's genius was better adapted to such a commission: the very tendency that threatens at its every appearance to cheapen art, the baroque, theatrical strain that we notice in the David (no. 671) and in the Doubting Thomas group (no. 672), finds its most appropriate application in a statue of a condottiere. The proud, defiant expression and pose of Colleoni are theatrical, of course, but we expect that in a general; he must pose before his troops if he is to keep up the appearance of superiority and avoid insubordination. Donatello treated the figure of Gattamelata in great detail to make it dominate the huge warhorse. The challenging expression of Colleoni's eagle-like face needed the aid of no great elaboration of costume and trappings to dominate any steed. And his is a steed that echoes his own fiery spirit. It is a horse of lighter build than Gattamelata's and has been studied very closely from the Roman bronzes on St. Mark's (no. 182a).

A better understanding of his problem made it possible for Verrocchio not only to dispense with the support that Donatello had to use under his horse's raised foot, but also to represent the horse in lively action and still keep its weights perfectly balanced.

Leonardo da Vinci's interest in the representation of horses was probably given an impetus by the Colleoni commission. In the background of his unfinished Adoration of the Magi (no. 827), attributed to the very year in which Verrocchio completed his model, are many horses with and without riders. One of the riders on a rearing horse bears striking resemblance to Verrocchio's portrait of Colleoni. It may not have been influenced by Verrocchio's portrait, however, for the latter reproduces faithfully the features of Colleoni as they appear on the medal by Marco Giudizani, which may have been Leonardo's model also. Dürer, as is well known, followed the whole Colleoni group in his knight on horseback in the famous engraving of Knight, Death, and the Devil, of 1513. The influence of Verrocchio's great work is evident in practically every equestrian statue that has been executed since his day.

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Sansovino, Andrea (1460-1529)

Annunciation: Detail of Paneling (Finished in 1523)

Marble. H. of Annunciation Relief, c. 4 ft., 3 in.

Loreto, Church of the Casa Santa

Andrea Contucci, called Sansovino from his birthplace, Monte Sansavino, represents the transition in Tuscan sculpture from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. He early came to Florence and studied under Antonio Pollaiuolo. His success was widespread, for he executed commissions not only in many parts of Italy, but spent nine years in the service of the king of Portugal. Soon after his return to Italy he designed that splendid group, completed by Vincenzo Danti, of the Baptism of Christ (the incongruous angel was added by Spinazzi) over the east door of the Florentine baptistery. The last years of his life, from 1513 on, were spent in Loreto decorating the oratorio designed by Bramante in the church of the Casa Santa. This oratorio is more accurately described as a marble screen, which was built around the little stone house that, according to legend, had been the home of the Virgin in Nazareth and had been transported thence to Loreto by angels. This holy house is thirteen and a half feet high, twenty-eight feet long, and twelve and a half feet wide. The surrounding screen is about twenty-six feet high, forty-five feet long, and thirty feet wide, and every square foot is richly adorned with reliefs, statues, or architectural details so that it is truly a fit shrine for the sacred relic. Sansovino had many assistants in the work. He himself actually executed only a very small part of it. Most important is the large relief of the Annunciation, which he finished in 1523. His artistic derivation from Antonio Pollaiuolo is recalled by the twisted pose of the Virgin. But there are evidences too that he had felt many other influences since he had left Pollaiuolo's workshop: he had admired the pictorial reliefs of Ghiberti and Donatello, the swift movement of Antonio Rossellino, and the voluminous draperies and lovely hair and features of Verrocchio and Leonardo. Though he followed in a general way the traditional iconography of the Annunciation, he gave it greater dramatic expression than is to be found in earlier versions, drawing inspiration from various works by Michelangelo: the group of God the Father and angels that rushes through the air from the left betrays an attempt, none too successful, to reproduce the vigorous effect of the Creation scenes on the Sistine ceiling (nos. 866a, 869), as the monumental figures in the niches are emulations of Michelangelo's Moses for the tomb of Julius II (no. 678).

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Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Pietà (1498-1500)

Marble. H. c. 6 ft., 3 in.

Rome, St. Peter's

Michelangelo Buonarroti was born at Caprese, but he spent his childhood in Settignano, where he was nursed by the wife of a marble-worker. His preference for art became apparent at a very early age and earned for him the wrath of his father. The ill treatment that he suffered at this time was only the prelude to a lifetime of abuse heaped upon him by his family, all of which was not sufficient to break his family pride. In spite of opposition, he entered the atelier of Ghirlandaio in 1489, and, after a year's study there, became the pupil of the old sculptor Bertoldo, who conducted a kind of school under the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici in the gardens of St. Marco. Here Michelangelo became familiar with examples of classical art and carved his earliest extant reliefs, the Battle of the Centaurs and the Madonna of the Steps. When, in 1494, the signs looked very bad for the Medici, Michelangelo, ever tortured by fear, fled from Florence. It was at this time that he spent some months in Bologna, where he was impressed by the sculpture of Jacopo della Quercia. The influence of that master was manifested at once in the statuette of St. Petronius that Michelangelo made for the shrine of St. Dominic in the church dedicated to that saint (no. 698). The model was clearly Jacopo's statue in the lunette above the door of S. Petronio (see p. //). For the same shrine Michelangelo made a St. Proclus and a candle-bearing angel which is already prophetic of his greatness.

A few months after his return to Florence Michelangelo went to Rome. It was his first visit to the Eternal City, and his delight in the classical monuments that he saw there expressed itself in a number of pagan subjects that he sculptured, even while all Florence was torn by religious prejudices and his own brother was being prosecuted for his adherence to Savonarola. It is customary, nevertheless, to see an allusion to the Florentine disturbance in the Pietà that Michelangelo carved while in Rome, at the order of a French cardinal, for a chapel in St. Peter's.

When Michelangelo labored over this great exhibition of sacrifice - Christ, Who has given His life, on the lap of His mother, who has given yet more, her Son - he must have thought much of the zealous Florentine prophet who was willing to go to the stake for his faith. He must have thought, too, of the terrible things that were happening just then in Rome, of the crimes of the Borgias, false representatives of Christ in the Vatican who were sacrificing Christ anew. And he must have thought now, as always, of his own mental torment, of the crucifixion that he suffered daily through being out of tune with his environment. Like a flower that droops under a merciless sun, the head of the Virgin is bowed in sorrow. She does not look out and seek our companionship in her grief. Like the sculptor who carved her, she has withdrawn into herself and broods in solitude. Only the gesture of her left hand is addressed to the world, and it seems to cry out, "Behold the sacrifice that has been made for you," even as Michelangelo's letters to his family reiterated the sacrifice that he continually made for their sake.

The general composition of Michelangelo's Pietà had been used in painting, but this is one of the first instances in which two figures of approximately equal size sculptured in the round form a true composition. Verrocchio had achieved success in his Christ and the Doubting Thomas (no. 672), but there was a niche to help hold that group together. Much has been written about the formal arrangement, about the careful study of proportions so that the body of Christ would not seem too heavy for the mother to support. The voluminous draperies are most effectively used to give breadth to her figure, and she is also made a little larger than the body of Christ. Yet one senses nothing false about the group; for, in spite of the fact that the body of Christ is treated with anatomical accuracy, it appeals to us more as a symbol of His sacrifice than as the actual body of a man. Michelangelo has known just where to stop in naturalistic detail to avoid all suggestions of gruesomeness. We are not unpleasantly conscious of the representation of a dead

body. We think only of the loss. The subject of the Pietà made a special appeal to Michelangelo: at the end of his life he carved the group now in the cathedral at Florence and another that is now in the Palazzo Rondanini, both peaceful and quiet like the early group in St. Peter's, but with the Virgin, like the sculptor, now grown old. Between these representations at the beginning and end of his life are others, where the expression of sorrow is much more passionate. Most passionate of all is the group in an engraving by Giulio Sanu which has recently been identified as a copy of a lost Pietà by Michelangelo. Here the gaunt, aged Virgin cries out in an anguish that the accompanying angels are powerless to assuage.

Michelangelo's signature is carved along the band that holds the Virgin's tunic in place: MICHAEL ANGELVS BONAROTVS FLOREN. FACIEBAT. This is the only piece of sculpture on which he set his signature. Whether he signed it because, as an old legend relates, he heard a bystander speak of it as the work of another, or because he was particularly proud of it, we do not know. He received the formal commission in 1498 but had some months before been authorized to start the work. He finished it before his return to Florence in 1501. As seen in St. Peter's to-day, the group is placed too high and until recently it was otherwise marred by the later additions of bronze halo, crown, and angels.

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Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Madonna and Child (c. 1501)

Marble. H. c. 4 ft.

Bruges, Notre-Dame

The powerful, Titanic characteristics of Michelangelo's art are so impressive that one is likely to forget his sweet, charming passages. They are not infrequent in his earlier work, before he had become thoroughly embittered by the animosity that he read into all his environment. The Virgin of the Pietà (no. 675) has not lost touch with gentle, human motherhood. The Bruges Madonna is yet more tender. She is dignified and reserved and for the moment she is lost in sad contemplation; the lax right arm and hand indicate her abstraction; but her left hand, holding the Child with gentle, firm grasp, is unmistakable indication of a mother's devotion that will manifest itself at the slightest expression of need by the Child.

The flower-like effect obtained by the arrangement of the veil over the Virgin's head is even more striking here than in the Pietà. Fault can easily be found with the shape of her features, judged by the usual criteria of beauty - the nose is extremely long, the eyes small, and the jaw and cheek bones prominent - but the design that the features make with the headdress is of great beauty. Again, as in the Pietà, the Virgin's full robes give breadth and stability to the group. The deep hollows are carefully manipulated to produce dark shadows against which the Child stands out in full light, and the lines of the principal folds echo the pose of the Child. In that pose we have one of the earliest examples of Michelangelo's use of *contrapposto*, that was to become so prominent in his work. In the twisting of the body, the opposition of one motive against another, he found some outlet for the struggle and turmoil that was constantly tearing his own soul. We see it in his stately forms like the Libyan Sibyl (no. 867), and we see it in his tumultuous forms like Jonah (no. 866 a).

The Bruges Madonna is a fine example of the compactness of Michelangelo's compositions: though the Child's form is distinctly visible, it is, when viewed from the angle intended, wholly contained within the contour of the mother, with the exception of the little arm, which follows the curve of her knee. All lines lead back into the composition and toward the Child, Who is thus indicated as the *raison d'être* of the work.

The marble group is most carefully finished, as in the case of the Pietà. Michelangelo's delight in the gently undulating surface is betrayed in our desire to follow the modulations with our touch. Though so carefully carved and polished that it invites the closest inspection, the group does not lose

by being viewed from a distance, where the true value of the light and shade effect is appreciated.

A letter dated 1506 informs us that the Madonna had been sent to Flanders. It may nevertheless have been executed before Michelangelo left Rome in 1501. It is said to have been ordered by Flemish merchants named Mouscron, one of whom was buried beneath it in the church of Notre-Dame at Bruges.

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Michelangelo (1475-1564)

David (1501-1504)

Marble. H. 18 ft.

Florence, Academy

In 1501, shortly after his return from Rome, Michelangelo received the commission for his famous David. The popularity of the statue has been increased by an interesting circumstance connected with the commission and by the story of the choice of location for the statue. About the time Michelangelo returned from Rome the commissioners in charge of the Opera del Duomo at Florence decided to make use of a huge block of marble that had lain abandoned in the Opera since a certain Baccellino had, some thirty-five years before, made a bungle of it in attempting to block out a statue. Michelangelo believed that he could use it, damaged as it was, and contracted to finish a statue of David in the course of two years. He commenced at once, using the full length of the block in spite of the fact that it had been cut so deeply in places that traces of the earlier sculptor's chisel may be seen in the back of Michelangelo's figure, and the great "giant," as the Florentines designated it from the time the work started, was finished at the beginning of 1504. Before the end of January in that year a committee including Leonardo, Perugino, Lorenzo di Credi, Piero di Cosimo, Filippino Lippi, Botticelli, Cosimo Rosselli, Andrea della Robbia, and the San Gallo brothers met to decide upon the site for the colossal statue. Surely no other work of art ever called together such a distinguished group of artists. With a display of aesthetic sense befitting them, they let Michelangelo be the final judge in the matter, but not until they had expressed their own views and had listened to the amusing speech of the herald of the Palazzo Vecchio, around which the discussion centered. For there were three locations from which to choose: the position now occupied by Donatello's Judith in the Loggia dei Lanzi, the position then occupied by Verrocchio's bronze David in the center of the palazzo courtyard, and the platform in front of the palazzo where Donatello's Judith then stood. Michelangelo chose the last position. The herald too spoke in favor of it, though with quite other reasons than Michelangelo's. He was not interested in the placing of the new statue but in the displacing of the old. He wanted to see the Judith consigned to a less prominent place because the representation of a woman killing a man was unlucky and was leading Florence into reverses. His second preference was for the courtyard in order to displace Verrocchio's David (no. 671), the left leg of which he pronounced a failure. Michelangelo's choice was based on the needs of his own statue. Its colossal size and impression of unbounded life demanded space and air; and the significance that the subject, David the emancipator of his people, had come to have in Florence likewise argued for the place before the door of this fortress-like palace in which the destinies of the republic were decided. So in May, 1504, the "giant" was taken on its four days' journey from the Opera del Duomo to the Ringhiera in front of the palace. But times had changed since the memorable day in 1311, when Duccio's Majestas (no. 707) was carried in triumphal procession amidst singing and rejoicing through the streets of Siena. Michelangelo's David had to be accompanied in its difficult course through the streets of Florence by a strong guard to protect it from the stones of the rabble. For this symbol of freedom from tyranny was not altogether congenial to the Medici, and the political aspect had come to take precedence over the religious in Florentine life. Nevertheless, the David remained in its favorable position quite unmolested, after the citizens had become accustomed to it, until 1873, when it was taken to its present home in the Academy. This change was deemed essential for the protection of the statue from the weather, though its detriment to the effect of the work is serious. Commanding as is the position in the gallery of the Academy, the figure is far too large for its space and seems overgrown to the point of monstrosity. The

disproportionately large hands and feet are much more obtrusive than they were in the original setting, and the knotted forehead and dilated eyes seem scarcely human.

Though fairly close parallels for the pose of the David are to be found among Donatello's statues, notably his St. George made for Or San Michele, the conception is entirely different from Donatello's and Verrocchio's conceptions of this hero (nos. 649, 671). Donatello's David, especially, and even the more realistic version by Verrocchio are romantic. Appropriately, these boyish Davids are shown after the conquest of their terrible foe; one would fear for their lives to see them in the moment of going to meet Goliath. Not so with Michelangelo's hero; he is equal to the occasion, no supernatural aid is needed; in his own strength he is capable of overcoming the most formidable opponent. He is in the full strength of young manhood, every muscle in perfect condition. Grasping the sling that lies over his shoulder he stands fixing the giant with his gaze. There is disagreement as to the precise stage in the action that Michelangelo has intended to represent. Probably he did not intend to represent any particular moment; the splendid young hero is flaming with righteous indignation, prepared for the emergency, but not yet in the act of vengeance, and the sling is shown more as a symbol than as a weapon in use.

Though the figure is realistic enough and shows a first-hand knowledge of nature, effects of Michelangelo's Roman sojourn are evident. The colossal size and lively pose recall the horsemen of Monte Cavallo. And there are mannerisms in the carving of details, such as the eyes and hair, that show the influence of ancient sculpture.

678

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Moses (c. 1512-c. 1516)

Marble. H. c. 7½ ft.

Rome, S. Pietro in Vincoli

In 1505 Michelangelo was back in Rome listening to the plans of Pope Julius II for a splendid tomb to be erected to his own memory in St. Peter's. Michelangelo and this pope were kindred spirits in the matter of planning, both dreamed of great undertakings and shut their eyes to human limitations. According to their original scheme for the pope's tomb, it was to be a great quadrangular, free-standing marble monument, thirty-four and a half feet long by twenty-three feet wide, and exceeding either of these dimensions in height. It was to be decorated with forty marble statues, some of which were to be of colossal size, and with a number of bronze reliefs. The theme of the whole monument was to be the glorification of the pope. Michelangelo was fired with enthusiasm; and with his usual impatience and his mania for attending personally to every detail, he rushed to the marble quarries and wasted his strength and bruised his nerves struggling with the mechanical problems and haggling with the workmen, so that next to nothing had been accomplished for the tomb when in 1508 Pope Julius, losing interest in the three-year-old project, determined upon a fresh undertaking and forced the chafing sculptor to turn his hand to painting for the decoration of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (nos. 866-870). So for nearly five years Michelangelo worked at that task, wearing himself out in body and spirit. With the completion of the ceiling, he turned again to the tomb, and in a period of three years of comparative outward tranquility he sculptured the figures that better than any of his other work express his tumultuous spirit. The colossal statue of Moses, as carefully finished and highly polished as a bronze statuette, and the two statues of slaves in the Louvre belong almost wholly to this period.

After the pope's death in 1513, a second contract was made with his executors, according to which the dimensions of the tomb were diminished to twenty-six and one-fourth feet by fifteen feet. As time went on, with other commissions - notably the Medici tombs (nos. 679 a, b) and the façade of S. Lorenzo (never actually executed) - taking his attention away from the tomb, Michelangelo had to submit periodically to the curtailing of his plans for the tomb, which still remained his fondest dream. By the time it was erected, in 1545, forty years after the conception of the first great plan, it had dwindled

to a wall monument with several mediocre statues by various sculptors and only one, the Moses, entirely by Michelangelo, for there was no place in the last, impoverished scheme for the statues of slaves. When he made the Moses, Michelangelo intended it for a corner figure, standing out almost free from the monument; crowded back into the narrow niche it cries out against its fate. The original plans for the location of the tomb likewise suffered abasement; not to the great S. Pietro in Vaticano but to the out-of-the-way S. Pietro in Vincoli we must go to see what came of those extravagant dreams of Julius II and Michelangelo.

Yet could the pope have lived to see this colossal Moses even his ambitious nature could scarcely have wished for a more effective memorial. All the attributes tell us that this is Moses, but the impetuous spirt and powerful character represent equally well the great pope. Michelangelo must have thought of the pope and he must have thought of himself as he created this conception of Moses. For like Moses both Michelangelo and his papal patron undertook vast enterprises and stormed against the incompetence and blindness of those through whom they had to work: all three were patriarchs in their intellectual superiority, and all three were at the same time tyrants in that they could not adapt themselves to the inferior intellects of their fellows but had either to bend those inferiors to their own wills or to destroy themselves in the effort.

Michelangelo has followed an incorrect Biblical translation that describes Moses as having horns upon his head after his long sojourn with God on Mt. Sinai; it is a gleaming countenance with which he is characterized in the original Hebrew, a countenance so unnatural that the Israelities were frightened and Moses had to wear a veil over his face in their presence; only when he talked with God could he remove the veil. It is possible that Michelangelo may have thought of the veil when he draped the mantle across the patriarch's knee. The mighty growth of beard emphasizes the superhuman power. As in the case of the David (no. 677), the precise moment represented by the statue is open to dispute. And again the probable answer is that Michelangelo did not intend to represent any particular moment but rather to embody in the statue all the characteristics that the life of Moses displayed. So he followed the traditional type of figure and he included the tablets of the law as an attribute, not as a motive of action. Moses may be about to spring from his seat and dash the tablets to the ground. But he is capable of much more than childish act. The potential power of this figure is comparable to that of the great figures of God the Father in the Creation scenes of the Sistine ceiling. The only other work in which Michelangelo quite equaled the Moses is the Jeremiah painted there (no. 868), and both are personifications of his own tempestuous soul: in Jeremiah he expressed his depth of despair; in Moses he expressed his renewal of determination.

679 a, b

Michelangelo (1475-1564)

Tombs of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, and of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino (c. 1523-c. 1533)

Marble. H. c. 20 ft.

Florence, S. Lorenzo, New Sacristy

In 1520 Cardinal Giulio, later to become Pope Clement VII, conceived a plan for commemorating his family in some such grand style as Pope Julius II had planned to commemorate himself (see p. 49), and at the hands of the same artist. Michelangelo was commissioned to build a new sacristy for the church of S. Lorenzo, treating it as a tomb chapel in which four of the cardinal's relatives were to find fitting entombment. These four were Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-92), uncle of the cardinal; Giuliano (1453-78), brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent and father of the cardinal; Giuliano (1479-1516), Duke of Nemours, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and cousin of the cardinal; and this duke's nephew Lorenzo (1492-1519), Duke of Urbino, grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The building went ahead with fairly close adherence to the original plans, but the plans for the tombs underwent much revision and were never completely carried out by Michelangelo. Drawings show that he first thought of a free-standing quadrangular structure, somewhat similar to that

planned for Julius II, but with a tomb in each face. Then he thought of making two double tombs against the side walls, one for Lorenzo the Magnificent and his brother, the other for the two dukes. The plan for the wall tombs was retained, but modified: instead of two there were to be three, two single ones on the side walls and a double one between these on the end wall facing the choir. In the final plans the dukes were given the single tombs, and the double tomb, dominated by a statue of the Madonna, was to serve for the two elder Medici. The plan of carrying up an architectural structure for this double tomb never got beyond the stage of sketches. The remains of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his brother rest in a long casket along the wall intended for the double tomb, and on the casket stand statues of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, executed by Montorsoli and Raffaello di Montelupo, on either side of a Madonna by Michelangelo (cf. no. 594).

Even the wall tombs of the dukes are less rich than Michelangelo intended. We know at least that figures of Heaven and Earth were planned for one of the tombs, presumably to go in the niches on either side of the figure of the duke, and models of one pair of the river gods that were to lie beneath the sarcophagi were actually placed in the sacristy but soon disappeared. Incomplete as they are, these tombs are marvels of harmonious composition. With the sculpture the architectural details of the tombs and of the whole room (no. 594) are in perfect accord. However much Michelangelo may have failed in the execution of his vast schemes, in this case he carried the architectural and decorative work far enough to leave us a room unsurpassed in unity of effect, though it now seems somewhat cold and bare since the decorations of Giovanni da Udine have been covered with whitewash. Only the dark marble of pilasters and moldings and the shadows elsewhere relieve the white glare of the room. The tombs are entirely in white marble. Michelangelo abandoned the coloristic effects of the sculpture of the earlier Renaissance, for which, especially in burial chapels, rich varieties of marble and porphyry had been used, supplemented by tinting and gilding of the white marble (cf. Antonio Rossellino's tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal, No. 658).

It is possible that ancient sculpture influenced Michelangelo in the strict adherence to uncolored marble, for he saw Greek and Roman sculpture, as we see it to-day, denuded of its coloring. It is easy to see classical influence in the whole scheme of the two tombs. The apotheosis of a hero was a common motive of ancient art: he was conceived as deified, separated from earthly things, raised up in the pure empyrean. So Michelangelo has placed his heroes between cosmic symbols, night and day, dawn and twilight. Specific suggestions for such allegorical figures were to be found in ancient sculpture, where Helios ascends from the ocean at ~~the~~ end of the east Parthenon pediment and Selene descends at the other (see p. 103). For the personifications of heaven and earth planned by Michelangelo there is equally good precedent in classical art: on the cuirass of the Prima Porta Augustus (no. 160) they bear witness to the universal recognition of the emperor's beneficent acts. The frequent personification of rivers in ancient art is familiar to all - a paramount example is the "Cephisus" on the west pediment of the Parthenon (no. 116). The shape of the sarcophagi is of classical derivation. And the dukes wear the costume of Roman generals. Even the generalization of facial characteristics in all the figures suggests classical influence: Michelangelo himself admitted that no one would recognize the statues of the dukes as portraits of Lorenzo and Giuliano; but, he said, "Who will be concerned about the resemblance ten centuries hence?" He used the two ducal figures to contrast active life with contemplative life, the concepts personified in Lea and Rachael on the tomb of Pope Julius II.

Giuliano, though for the moment at rest, is alert, ready to spring up and assume control of his army with the baton that now lies across his knees, ready to fling the coin that he holds in his left hand into the midst of the admiring crowd. His pose is comparable to that of Moses (no. 678). His face and whole figure are in light, free as far as possible from impenetrable shadows. Lorenzo, on the other hand, is sunk in thought. His downcast eyes look past us into the distance. He is in no way concerned with the crowd. His elbow rests on his coin casket: his money, like his thoughts, he will keep to himself. His pose is comparable to that of Jeremiah on the Sistine ceiling (no. 868), the lines leading inward to emphasize self-absorption; but his finger plays over his upper lip, his body is less relaxed and doubled together than that of Jeremiah, and his face is thrown in to much deeper shadow - Jeremiah, in utter despondency, is bemoaning his wasted efforts; Duke Lorenzo is thinking, scheming, planning his next move.

But in Michelangelo's experience, neither action nor thought is repaid by peace and happiness. At all hours, in the twilight and in the dawn, in the night and in the day, the soul is torn by dissatisfaction, by constant kicking against the pricks. On the sarcophagus of Lorenzo Twilight is a powerful man who reclines on his hard couch but half relaxed, his head bowed in troubled thought instead of rest. Dawn, a splendid Amazon, awakes from her fitful sleep, unrefreshed, struggling against exhaustion like one rousing from a nightmare. Night has lost consciousness of the outer world only to be tormented with inner terrors. And Day turns and struggles, contracting all his muscles like one who tries to free himself from closely bound fetters. While working minutely over this huge body, polishing it to a mirror-like sheen, Michelangelo put off chiseling the face and finally left it just half emerging from the mass of stone: the combination of desires, fears, misgivings, regrets that all Michelangelo's days held for him must have seemed to him beyond expression. All four figures are powerful in body; they seem capable of unbounded exertion; but so had Michelangelo unbounded energy, and he found it only a curse that drove him madly from one thing to another, tricking him into the belief that he could with his own hands accomplish in a few years what would actually occupy many hands much longer and cheating him finally out of the completion of his vast designs. So his allegorical figures seem to take no delight in their splendid physiques, they appear to realize that their beauty and power are but a snare and a delusion. On the basis of these figures Michelangelo must be classed as an artist transitional between the Renaissance and the baroque periods. He is not only the culminating follower of the Renaissance style but the potent leader of this transitional style, or early baroque, that we now call Mannerism. A striking parallel has even been pointed out between the head of Dawn and that of St. Theresa carved by the great Italian exponent of the baroque, Lorenzo Bernini (no. 1026).

Only Night is furnished with attributes. Above her forehead are the evening star and crescent moon; beneath her left shoulder is the discarded mask of life; and her left foot rests on a bundle of poppy heads and foliage, symbol of forgetfulness, while the night owl looks out from the angle of her knee. In reply to a misunderstanding concerning this figure of Night voiced by a contemporary rhymer, Michelangelo wrote a bit of poetry in which is expressed the distaste for life that had been engendered in him by his own distorted nature and the troublous times of his loved Florence:

"Caro m'è 'l sonno et piu l'esser di sasso,
Mentre che 'l danno e la vergogna dura.
Non veder, mon sentir m'è gran ventura;
Pero non mi destar, deh! parla basso!"

"Sleep is dear to me, but dearer still to be of stone, while ignominy and crime endure. Neither to see nor hear is fortunate; therefore rouse me not prithee! speak low."

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Bandinelli, Baccio (1493-1560)

Hercules and Cacus (1534)

Marble. Colossal Size

Florence, Piazza della Signoria

Bartolommeo de' Brandini, called Baccio Bandinelli, is the scapegoat who bears the brunt of the approbrium due those sculptors who engaged in the futile effort to compete with Michelangelo on his own terms. While less able and ambitious sculptors are forgotten, Bandinelli has remained a well-known and much berated artist. A large share of his famous disrepute can be charged to circumstances that weighed heavily with his contemporaries but which should no longer determine our judgment of his art to-day. He had a disagreeable and envious, even mean and malicious personality. At the very time when the culture of the Renaissance was adding to the ancient conceptions of human character and intelligence, and to the mediaeval ideals of conscience and soul, personality as a new human dimension, the vile defect of Bandinelli in this direction could not but be fatal.

The Hercules and Cacus harmed Bandinelli more than anything else. How unpopular the return of the Medici to Florence in 1530 was is evinced by the eleven-months' siege required before the city would capitulate. Bandinelli, however, took advantage of the situation by playing consistently and quite sincerely the rôle of true supporter of the Medici. He was successful in getting the coveted commission away from Michelangelo and even in getting from Carrara the big block of marble originally quarried by Michelangelo and using it for his own group, which was the first large monument set up in Florence after the forcible return of the Medici and under the patronage of this now odious and politically foreign ducal house. The jeering stories and rhyming jibes called forth by the work indicate that it was the laughing stock of the town, and Cellini, whom Bandinelli hated, as he hated all his fellow artists, directed against it one of the most scathing of his many scathing criticisms. When the marble block had come from Carrara it had fallen into the Arno during the process of landing at Florence, and a clever poet recalling this incident now declared that it had wished to drown itself rather than be butchered by Bandinelli. Had the artist's nature been less firm or his ambition less vaulting, the flow of mockery would have driven him to despair.

That the Medici defended the group and had it set up on the Ringhiera was perhaps less an indication of their taste than of their tyranny. Their determination was unfortunate for Bandinelli. For placed at the right of the doorway of the Palazzo Vecchio it inevitably challenged comparison with Michelangelo's David at the left (no. 677). The comparison was disastrous for Bandinelli. Moreover, the David was the most popular statue in Florence and has always remained so (even in 1873, when modern ideas of conservation caused its removal to the Academy, the people demanded a replica in its former place) and the unpopularity of the Hercules and Cacus group increased by contrast. It is easy to see how the Florentines' antipathy to the Medici reflected on Bandinelli and to imagine how his unpopularity was kept alive by each political episode, such as, for instance, when Duke Cosimo I rephrased the democratic inscription which had been put over the above-mentioned doorway of the Palazzo Vecchio during the siege in 1529 (Jesus Christus Rex Florentini popoli s.p. decreto electus) in an autocratic tone (Jesus Christus Rex Regum et Dominus dominatium - Cosimo hoped to have his title raised from duke to king, but it was only raised to grand duke). This hostility to Bandinelli, which is widely recorded in contemporary literature and given permanent influence in the pages of Vasari, makes a fair criticism of Bandinelli difficult.

Undoubtedly Bandinelli was a man of parts. Michelangelo, whom through jealousy he hated more than any other, called him a good designer, a judgment which Bandinelli's extant drawings and sculpture confirm. Leonardo, who did not live to see the outcome, is said to have praised his anatomical knowledge, which no one has ever questioned. Even Vasari overcomes his animosity sufficiently to put Bandinelli among those deserving a portion of honor and of eternal fame.

The Hercules and Cacus is, however, an unpleasant work. The original model, not preserved, is reported to have been of a better design, which had to be departed from because of the proportions of the marble block. Probably in that design the mutual relationship of the figures in pose, action, and gaze was more satisfactory. In crowding them together to fit into the upright block Bandinelli has indeed produced a very compact and physically impressive group. The bigness of Hercules is even enhanced by Cacus thrust as filling between his legs. But there is only physical unity. Hercules and Cacus are each tense, but to no evident purpose, and the status reached in the combat is not adequately defined. The huge scale makes this lack of clear motivation ridiculous.

Bandinelli's group was nevertheless at its date a work of some importance in the evolution of style. For its gigantic muscularity went beyond any sculpture that Michelangelo or his imitators had done. It already showed, on the other hand, a certain reaction against the Michelangelesque in that there was a repression of emotion, an arrest of movement, and a rigid adherence to a simple geometrical contour for the composition. This reaction was the result of Bandinelli's desire, more clearly visible later in some of his bronzes, to refine upon Michelangelo's force by adding the symmetry and impersonal restraint of the antique. The resultant lack of personality was, however, just what contemporaries objected to - both in his sculpture and in Bandinelli himself. And we can sense it ourselves in the portraits of Bandinelli; there is one by a contemporary painter, perhaps Salviati, in the Gardner Museum.

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Bandinelli, Baccio (1493-1560)

Bust of Cosimo I de' Medici (a. 1560)

Marble. Above Life-Size

Florence, Bargello

Everyone has his better phases - Bandinelli along with the rest. He was more successful in his less pretentious works. Like his fellow Mannerists, painters as well as sculptors, he was, because of his technical proficiency, successful in portraiture. The bust of his loyal patron and protector, Duke Cosimo I, with whom he continued on good terms till the end, is a very good portrait. To be sure, one cannot help feeling that if the duke had had more strength of character the portrait, as possibly the friendship with the artist, would have been less satisfactory. Petulance, self-indulgence, and a certain timeserving shrewdness are the chief characteristics that it seems possible to read into this face. The features are treated quite broadly, in keeping with Bandinelli's usual impersonality; but the details of the costumes show the artist's goldsmith training: his father was the best goldsmith in Florence. The animal heads, particularly, are well drawn and quite beautifully modeled in low relief. There is also, despite the smoothing over of details, a definite expression of underlying anatomy and especially of the facial muscles, which reveals the industry and painstaking study that were duly attributed to Bandinelli by those who liked him least. The polish, even softness, of the surface of the bust is not to be explained merely as a requirement of flattering aristocratic portraiture. It represents a definite tendency of Bandinelli and his school to qualify their dominant Michelangelesque athleticism with a human sensuousness derived from such canonical masters as Leonardo and Raphael.

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Ammanati, Bartolommeo (1511-1592)

Hercules and Antaeus (On a Fountain by Tribolo, 1485-1550) (c. 1567)

Marble. Heroic Size

Castello (near Florence), Villa Reale

Of the pupils of Bandinelli and therefore of the second generation of Michelangelo's imitators the outstanding example is Bartolommeo Ammanati. His work as an architect is more important (cf. no. 593 b), but his training was mainly in sculpture. He was old enough to be contemporary with the latter part of Michelangelo's career. After leaving the studio of his master Bandinelli he went to work under Jacopo Sansovino in Venice, where he came in contact with those milder and more pictorial traditions of sculpture current in the northern cities of Italy. He worked also in Urbino, Rome and elsewhere, before settling down in his maturity at his native Florence. There he became the direct successor to Bandinelli, for, though he lost to this former master the original competition for the great Fountain of Neptune in the Piazza della Signoria, the death of the winner shortly thereafter necessitated a second competition, which Ammanati won.

It was about the time of this victory that Ammanati produced the crowning group of Hercules and Antaeus for a fountain that Tribolo had erected a few years earlier in the Medici villa at Castello. Like his master Bandinelli before him, Ammanati had begun with a proclivity to the colossal and one of his earlier works is a great Hercules at Padua made of eight blocks of marble. From this grandiose manner he recovered more slowly than his master, probably because he was not so susceptible to the disciplining influence of the antique. The Hercules and Antaeus group is still grotesquely disproportionate to the slender cupid-wreathed pedestal of its fountain support. A true Mannerist, such as Ammanati, is given to reflection rather than experiment. This is the making of a good portraitist, as we can see also in painters like Vasari, the friend that induced Ammanati to return and reside in Florence. This reflective temperament, however, makes a Mannerist satisfied not to invent but to choose the best he can find in the past. For the Castello fountain Ammanati did not

seek a new subject or even a new composition, but took over directly Antonio Pollaiuolo's conception of the struggle between the two heroes. With the heavier proportions of his time, however, it was quite impossible for Ammanati to get the agility of his model. Nor did he want it. His concern was rather to produce a closed, compact composition, with strongly marked architectonic horizontals and verticals and he allowed himself only one flourish, the projecting leg of Antaeus, to enliven the group.

The subject is not badly adapted to its purpose, for the expiring Antaeus, who in Pollaiuolo's painting lets out his departing spirit as a visible breath (like that of a Chinese sage), can here vent a lofty jet of water. This kind of clever adaptation was very characteristic of the Florentine academicism of the second half of the sixteenth century, in which, like his friend Vasari, Ammanati was steeped. One of the oddities of literature is the letter of 1582 in which we find Ammanati at the end of his career prescribing a strict diet of Michelangelo for young academicians and with the enforced and ambiguous virtue of senility instructing them "never to make an immodest or suggestive work, such as figures entirely nude, or anything that could stimulate a man or woman to bad thoughts."

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Cellini, Benvenuto (1500-1572)

Salt Cellar with Figures of Tellus and Neptune (1539-1543)

Gold and Enamel. H. c. 8 in.

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Most famous of the Florentine sculptor-goldsmiths was Benvenuto Cellini, whose autobiography and treatises on his art add interest to the exquisite examples of his sculpture and goldsmith work that have survived to us.

Cellini was twice in France, first in 1537 and again from 1540 till 1545. In Paris he found the goldsmiths chiefly occupied with ornamental objects for table and church usage, and to that kind of work he devoted himself largely during his years there, executing only one piece of monumental sculpture, the lunette relief of Diana in the Louvre.

The most noted example of his goldsmithery is the salt cellar which he had designed for the Cardinal of Ferrara in 1539, shortly before going to France, the second time, and which he executed in gold and enamel for King Francis I. He describes this little marvel twice (once referring to the model, once to the finished work) in his autobiography and once in his technical treatise; there is some discrepancy between the three descriptions and none agrees exactly with the actual appearance of the salt cellar. Cellini was little accustomed to giving strict attention to truth; it was only the effect that interested him. So his descriptions of the salt cellar, even if they lack accuracy, are entertaining and give an idea of the splendor of the work. One of the descriptions in the autobiography runs as follows:

"The salt cellar was oval in shape, all in chiseled gold, and was about two-thirds of a braccio in size. As I have said in speaking of the model, I represented the Sea and the Earth, both seated, their legs intertwined, symbolizing the penetration of gulfs into the earth and the jutting of capes into the sea. I placed a trident in the right hand of the Sea, and in his left a boat of exquisite workmanship, to hold the salt. Under the god were four sea horses, only the heads, breasts, and forelegs of which were of the nature of horses; fish tails, gracefully interlaced, terminated the bodies. The Sea was seated above this group in a haughty attitude. Many kinds of fish and other sea animals swam around him in the midst of waves enameled in the precise color of water. Earth, in the form of a beautiful nude woman, held in her right hand a horn of abundance, and in her left a little Ionic temple, delicately chiseled, to hold the pepper. Under this figure were assembled the most beautiful animals that the earth produces. Part of the rocks near her were enameled; others I left in gold. This group was mounted on an ebony base, the scotia of which was decorated with four gold figurines in half relief. They represented Night, Day, Twilight, and Dawn, and alternated with the four principal Winds, chased and enameled with the most care and finish imaginable."

The salt cellar remained a part of the royal treasure of France until 1570, when it was presented to the uncle of Charles IX's bride, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. Ferdinand took it to Schloss Ambras, near Innsbruck, where it remained two and a half centuries, its authorship forgotten. In 1806 it was transferred to the Austrian imperial collection at Vienna and its identity was immediately recognized from Cellini's descriptions.

An examination of the work justifies Cellini's enthusiasm for it. The figures of Neptune and Tellus, or earth, are beautifully modeled, with an idealized grace worthy of their classical inspiration. Cellini's admiration for Michelangelo is evinced in the reclining figures of Day, Night, Dawn, and Twilight let into the base; these are clearly imitations of the allegorical figures on Michelangelo's Medici tombs (no. 679 a, b), but the deep significance of Michelangelo's figures has been lost in the translation of the large marble statues into diminutive gold reliefs. Even in his sculpture on a large scale (cf. no. 684), Cellini's conception was that of a goldsmith, concerned with minute details. But the exquisite beauty of the details in a work like the salt cellar makes it the worthy creation of a great artist.

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Cellini, Benvenuto (1500-1572)

Perseus with the Head of Medusa (1545-1554)

Bronze. Figure of Perseus, above Life-Size

Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi

Cellini's most significant piece of sculpture is the bronze group of Perseus and Medusa, which because of its dramatic subject is even more popular than its aesthetic qualities justify. Something of its popularity it owes also to Cellini's racy description of its execution. In his autobiography he tells in detail of the processes he employed in the preparation of the model and in the casting. The group was cast in two parts; the body of the Medusa was done first and though it came out perfectly, the duke (Cosimo I de' Medici), for whom the group was being made, tormented Cellini, and at the same time spurred him on, with continual reiteration of his belief that the Medusa head, particularly, and even the head of Perseus were so arranged that they could not possibly be cast and that the whole thing was sure to be spoiled. Cellini was beside himself with joy when, after days and nights of desperate work and impatient waiting, the statue came out just as he had boasted it would; he was even glad that one foot was imperfect because he had told the duke that it would be so.

For all his success with the casting, the wax study preserved in the Bargello is far more pleasing than the finished bronze. Perseus seems too muscular, too Herculean in the final statue; the technique of the goldsmith is unpleasantly apparent in the minutely studied details; and the figure is Michelangelesque in form without embodying a corresponding grandeur of spirit. But the wax model is lithe and buoyant, with a youthful grace becoming the hero. Lacking the Michelangelesque weight of body, the little figure does not offend by its lack of profundity. The Bargello has also a small bronze cast from a more advanced model which is less dry than the finished statue, but also, like the wax model less adapted to be seen from all points of view. The one respect in which the statue of Perseus shows real advance is in its effectiveness from a variety of viewpoints. That Cellini was conscious of this problem involved in sculpture in the round, he assures us in his writings, in a letter to a friend and in his book on sculpture and the art of the goldsmith. He says a good statue is seven times greater than a painting because the former presents at least eight aspects of like excellence. He tells of the difficulty of getting a harmonious effect from various angles, of how one must continually alter the pose because, while satisfactory from one angle, it is bad from another. The difficulties are so great, he concludes, that "one has never yet seen a figure that appears equally well from all sides." As has been appropriately observed, Giovanni da Bologna had not yet created his Rape of the Sabines (no. 686).

On Perseus' head is the helmet of Hades that renders its wearer invisible; to his feet are fastened the wings, and at his side hangs the pouch, needed for

his trip to the hall of the Gorgons. He has already killed the miserable woman and stands looking down at her body while he holds her head aloft. Influenced by Donatello's Judith and Holofernes, that stands near the Perseus in the Loggia, Cellini has made his pedestal too small for the body of Medusa. He has avoided the unpleasant effect of the dangling leg of Holofernes, but only by means of a somewhat ludicrous strategem: even while the blood spurts from her headless body, Medusa grasps one leg to keep it on top of the pedestal.

This pedestal set a new precedent in Florentine sculpture; never before had a statue been given such an ornate setting. The decorative motives carved in the marble are heaped up in the greatest profusion, and dainty bronze figurines fill the niches. These figurines represent Perseus' father, Zeus; his mother, Danaë; his siter, Athena, who lent him her shield for his expedition against Medusa; and his brother, Mercury, who lent him the sword. Let into the sub-base is a bronze plaque (a copy is substituted for the original, which has been placed in the Bargello) that represents Perseus' rescue of Andromeda. This relief is significant less because of its conception of the subject, which is theatrical in the extreme, than because of the development it shows in pictorial relief. The greatest gradation in depth of relief is employed, with a resulting sense of atmosphere and space that had never before been obtained.

The most egotistical of sculptors did not fail to record his name on his work. We read it, in Latin, boldly written in front on the strap that hangs diagonally from Perseus' shoulder. A more surprising record of Cellini's vanity came to light when during the late war precautions were being taken against possible damage to the statue: on the top of the helmet, invisible except from above and therefore protected from the certain jeers and possible attacks of his contemporaries, Cellini inserted a mask with his own features. This effrontery accords, as nothing else in his sculpture could, with the character immortalized in the autobiography.

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Bologna, Giovanni (c. 1524-1608)

Mercury (c. 1574)

Bronze. H. 5 ft., 8½ in.

Florence, Bargello

Jean Boulogne (whom the Italians called Giovanni Bologna) was born in the north of France at Douai, near Boulogne. He was trained at Antwerp under a Flemish master. In 1554 he went to Rome. Ancient art and the work of Raphael and of Michelangelo, who was still alive to give him advice, were his chief sources of inspiration; in spite of the fact that he was thirty years old when he went to Rome, his style was still pliable. Here and subsequently at Florence he eagerly adopted Italian characteristics, though his Flemish training gave a distinctive turn to all that he took. As a result, he infused new life into Florentine sculpture.

After two years of study in Rome Giovanni started back to Flanders. But he got no farther than Florence. There he entered the competition for the Neptune fountain in the piazza of the Signoria; the commission went, no doubt through graft, to a far less competent artist, to Ammanati (cf. no. 682), but it was probably the trial piece submitted by Giovanni at this time that won him the commission for the Fountain of Neptune at Bologna. His fame was now established and he was kept busy with commissions at Florence, which henceforward remained his home. Admitted into the full rights of the Florentine society ~~by~~ of artists, he is rightly classed among them in histories of art and is commonly designated by the Italian forms of his name, Giovanni Bologna and Giambologna.

In 1572 Giovanni was sent to Rome to acquire some ancient sculpture for his patron, Francesco de' Medici, the later grand duke. It is usually assumed that this second sojourn in the classical city was the occasion of the conception of one of Giovanni's most famous statues, the flying Mercury, and that he executed it upon his return to Florence in 1574. Some critics, following Vasari, would date it several years earlier. Vasari tells us that it was made

to be sent to Vienna, but that, when the first casting failed to turn out well, Giovanni made a copy, which was sent to Emperor Maximilian II, and the Medici kept the original. The latter, now in the Bargello, does have a long crack through the front of the torso, which is probably the defect that saved it from being sent to Vienna. It was placed on the fountain in the Villa Medici in Rome. Silhouetted against the green of the garden shrubbery and the blue of the Roman sky, the agile, buoyant figure could express its full significance, could seem actually to fly upward. Its removal to the Bargello was almost as lamentable as the removal of Michelangelo's David from its location in the open. Yet, caged within the gallery, the Mercury is still a marvel of lightness and grace. He is represented as returning to Olympus, whence he has been sent by Zeus on some messenger service; he is borne up in his flight by the breath of the wind god. In Raphael's Cupid and Psyche decorations of the Farnesina in Rome is a representation of Hermes from which Giovanni Bologna may have got the suggestion for his bronze figure; the pose appears again in the Elias of Raphael's last painting, the Transfiguration (no. 857). The popularity of Giovanni's bronze statue is attested by the many small replicas turned out by his atelier to satisfy the demand.

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Bologna, Giovanni (c. 1524-1608)

Rape of the Sabines (1583)

Marble. Heroic Size

Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi

Both the Mercury (no. 685) and the Rape of the Sabines are such important works that it is hard to give either precedence over the other; we can only say that the one is Giovanni Bologna's masterpiece in bronze, the other, his masterpiece in marble. The marble group in the Loggia dei Lanzi is an elaboration of a composition executed in bronze, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna. There are only two figures in the bronze group, a young man and a young woman, whom he is carrying off. An old man, from whom the woman has been taken, is added in the marble group. To neither composition did Giovanni at first attach any particular title: he had merely represented the rape of a beautiful young woman by an equally beautiful young man. But the Florentines, who were as enthusiastic over the marble group as they had been over Cellini's Perseus (no. 684), persisted in calling both of Giovanni's groups the Rape of the Sabines. This popular interpretation seemed to the artist as good as any and he confirmed it by preparing for the pedestal of the marble group a bronze plaque with an unquestionable representation of the Rape of the Sabines.

There is much that suggests the influence of ancient art in the marble group: the features are generalized and ideal, as the bodies, while based on nature, are ideal types; the old man, crying out against his conqueror, is foreshadowed in the Laocoön of the Vatican group (no. 152); and the beautiful woman, reaching out her arms in helpless entreaty, is even more closely paralleled by the youth at the left in the Laocoön group. But what a difference in the building up of the composition! The Laocoön is fully effective from only one viewpoint. The Rape of the Sabines is equally fine from any side: the ideal that Cellini strove for but believed to be just a little beyond human attainment (cf. p. 56) has been reached by Giovanni Bologna. His method has been the use of serpentine design; and the resulting effect is comparable to that of the twisted Easter candlestick, which is of equal value all the way round. The contrapposto developed by Michelangelo determines the pose of each of Giovanni Bologna's three figures, which are so arranged that the contrapposto of each is supplemented by the contrapposto of the one into which it merges.

The bronze relief in the base marks no innovation. The spatial effect is no more remarkable than that of Cellini's relief on the base of the Perseus, where the same method for obtaining effects of space and atmosphere has been employed. The composition is obviously based on Raphael's scene of the Burning of the Borgo in the Stanza dell' Incendio (no. 853).

Porta, Guglielmo della (c. 1516-1577)

Monument of Pope Paul III (Begun 1550)

Marble and Bronze. Figures above Life-Size

Rome, St. Peter's

Guglielmo della Porta, who had his early training in Milan, went to Rome at the age of twenty-one and had the good fortune to obtain there not only the instruction that any artist could get from Michelangelo's sculpture, but also that master's influence with the pope, so that in 1547 Guglielmo was appointed to the office of keeper of the papal seal, a sinecure, and was commissioned to restore the ancient statues in the Farnese Palace, where his nephew Giacomo was later to be employed as architect. The most significant result of this preferment was that he secured the commission for the tomb of Pope Paul III, who died in 1549. With the counsel of the poet Annibale Caro as to the subject matter and of Michelangelo as to the form, Guglielmo began designing the tomb in the early part of 1550, but he soon proved his ingratitude to Michelangelo and prepared the way for the partial destruction of his own work by refusing to listen to Michelangelo's advice in regard to the placing of the tomb. Guglielmo was planning a free-standing monument to go in the tribune of St. Peter's. Michelangelo, at that time busy with the building of the church, declared that the tomb must not be placed where it would obstruct such important space. Guglielmo went stubbornly ahead preparing a monument which, had it reached completion, would have been, in intention at least, a cross between the tomb planned for Julius II (see p. 49) and those executed for the Medici (cf. nos. 679 a, b).

Guglielmo's elaborate plans suffered considerable curtailment in the process of execution, and even after the tomb had been set up as a free-standing monument in a side aisle of St. Peter's, it was twice cut down radically, once when it was made a niche tomb in the southeast pier of the crossing of St. Peter's, in the late sixteenth century, and again in 1628, when it assumed its present appearance in the left niche of the apse. There we see it reduced to a relief-like structure that fits back into the niche and is decorated with only five of the many figures planned for it. In general composition it now resembles the Medici tombs, with the portrait of the seated pope above and two reclining Virtues, Justice and Prudence, below. The other two Virtues, Abundance and Peace, that were placed on the free-standing tomb, were removed to the Farnese Palace when the monument was last cut down. The two that remain look somewhat out of place without the splendid sarcophagus that the sculptor had planned to go beneath them, and the painted bronze tunic which was added to the nude marble figure of Justice under the direction of prudish Pope Urban VIII heightens the incongruous effect. This personification of Justice, the sensuous beauty of whose concealed nude figure we can guess from Guglielmo's life drawings in the Düsseldorf Academy and from the little bronze Charity in the Nostiz collection at Prague, is said to be a portrait of Pope Paul III's beautiful sister, while the older woman, who personifies Prudence, is said to represent his mother. Justice carries the consular fasces and a torch; and Prudence carries a mirror and a book, the latter inscribed with the artist's signature: Gulielmus della Porta Mediolanensis faciebat. Bronze putti, plump and impudent, decorate the consoles that support the base on which rests the bronze portrait of the pope. Like the Justice they reveal the anti-Michelangelesque side of Guglielmo derived from Leonardesque traditions at Milan and Raphaelesque influences at Rome.

The figure of Paul III, inscribed with the sculptor's full signature, is one of the finest papal portraits of the late Renaissance. The head is well modeled, the character is strongly marked, and the attitude of the figure, extending the right hand in benediction, is both natural and dignified.

The most striking physical dissimilarity to the Medici tombs is the coloristic effect. Michelangelo's tombs are entirely in white marble; variously colored marbles and bronze are used in Guglielmo's. As to intellectual significance, it would be foolish to attempt a comparison between the monuments.

Riccio, Il (Andrea Briosco) 1470-1522)

Paschal Candlestick (1507-1516)

Bronze. H. 12 ft., 10 in.

Padua, S. Antonio

Coming from Florentine sculpture to that of Venice and her neighborhood the student of the Renaissance is struck first of all by the decorative character of the art in these northern towns in contrast to its monumental character in Tuscany. This is to be explained partly, no doubt, by the fact that the Venetians were conspicuously fond of luxuriousness, while the Florentines were more interested in intellectual significance. But there is a more tangible explanation: the Florentines, particularly through their proximity to Rome, had access to the monumental art of antiquity; the Venetians, so far from Rome that a visit there was exceptional, had access to little more than the minor arts of antiquity, especially lamps, statuettes, sarcophagus reliefs, plaques, medals, and the like. It was natural, therefore, that their approach to the study and revival of ancient art was mainly through small details and that when they attempted to create a monumental work in emulation of the antique they made something fine in its details but frequently lacking in unity of conception.

For small bronzes Renaissance artists in the north of Italy are unsurpassed, and the most important of all for this kind of work was the Paduan Andrea Briosco, called Il Riccio. Trained in a goldsmith's shop - as were many of the Florentine sculptors - Riccio remained more goldsmith than sculptor throughout his life. An interesting group of statuettes attributable to his early years show a realistic tendency, based on the realistic phase of Donatello's art, of which there were examples in Padua. The sculptor Bellano, who succeeded Riccio's goldsmith father as the young artist's teacher, was an ardent disciple of Donatello and interpreted the style of the latter, especially in the field of relief sculpture, to Riccio. Riccio was impressed by the classical, as well as by the realistic characteristics of Donatello's art. Even without the example of Donatello he would have developed the classicizing style that characterizes his famous work, the Easter candlestick that he made in the years 1507-1516 for the choir of S. Antonio in Padua. By this time the enthusiasm for the antique had reached its height in Padua. Riccio moved in a circle of humanists whose archaeological interests were the greatest inspiration to him. His learned friends undoubtedly furnished the themes for many of his sculptures, very likely including the great candlestick. Some of the motives in this work may be traced to extant examples of classical art; others obviously derive from engravings by Mantegna, which though fantastic were apparently thought by Riccio to be taken from classical prototypes.

That Riccio was so long completing the great candlestick, which could normally have been done in about three years, is explained by the political and military disturbances of the time. The model was apparently prepared very promptly, but soldiers intermittently occupied Riccio's house, so that the work had frequently to be taken from his atelier to a place of greater safety. When the candlestick was transferred at the end of the sixteenth century from its original place in the middle of the choir of S. Antonio to its present location at the left of the high altar, there was found beneath it an inscribed lead plaque which explained the cause of the long delay in its completion.

The square marble base, 4 ft., 9 in. high, on which the candelabrum stands, was decorated with emblems symbolizing the Passion, the Triumph of Christ, and less obvious conceptions, by Francesco di Cola, probably from Riccio's designs. As for the candlestick itself, though Paduan humanists probably suggested the themes of many of the details, Riccio certainly deserves full credit for the embodiment of the ideas.

The general composition of the candlestick is pleasing. It tapers from base to summit through a rhythmic succession of gradually diminishing divisions. Though the divisions in the lower half are rectangular in ground plan and those of the upper half, circular, projecting figures make easy the transition from the one form to the other. The only serious fault to be found with the work is that the multitude of details, so interesting individually, are not intimately related in content. For such a composition it would be ideal to have one theme,

increasing in intensity of expression toward the apex of the pyramid. But, as too frequently in Venetian and Paduan sculpture, the artist has not started with a definite theme, breaking it up into its details; he has started with certain details and by adding to them, detail by detail, has thought to obtain a unit. As the eye travels upward it is caught now by allegorical scenes, now by Christian legends, now by Gothic grotesques, now by creatures of classical mythology, heaped one above the other without the slightest indication of relationship.

On the long, narrow faces of the lowest division of the pyramid are allegorical representations of History, Cosmography, Astrology, and Music, compositions that combine in fantastic fashion figures drawn from classical mythology and more modern imagination. The relief of Music, for example, that is visible in our photograph, shows a sea centaur, tritons, nymphs, and putti disporting themselves among the waves, singing and playing lustily on a variety of musical instruments. Classical sculpture may have furnished some of the motives, but Mantegna's fantastic engraving of the Battle of the Centaurs must have been Riccio's chief inspiration for this relief. The sphinxes that decorate the angles of this lowest story of the candlestick are most fantastic and elaborate in design, various details of the figures taking the shapes of leaves, masks, rams' horns, conch shells, and volutes. It is interesting to notice that there is no reminiscence of Riccio's early naturalism in these female faces; they have become mannered, academic.

The large reliefs of the second stage represent scenes from the life of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi (on the side visible in our photograph), the Entombment, the Descent into Hell, and an apocryphal scene of sacrifice. Even in these traditional subjects classical types are employed - one is reminded of Nicola Pisano's reliefs on the pulpit at Pisa (no. 633) - and the sacrificial scene, with Christ raised high like a statue of Zeus on a pedestal, might almost be an ancient relief of a pagan sacrifice. Garlands, masks, and Donatellesque putti bearing tabulae ansatae, uninscribed, decorate the frames of these four reliefs.

In the small rectangles of the next stage, garlands enclosing more uninscribed tabulae ansatae are supported by centaurs on whose backs nude putti play. At the corners of this division satyrs, with their arms behind their backs, squat on their goat legs and stretch out their grotesque heads to look down below in open-mouthed wonder; though creatures of classical mythology, they recall the fantastic gargoyles on Gothic architecture.

On the four faces of the altar-shaped division next in order are personifications of the virtues Fortitude, Justice, Prudence, and Temperance. In the last of these, which is the one visible in our photograph, Temperance is a Roman matron of Augustan type; from a basket of fruit offered by a boy who resembles a Roman camillus she temperately takes only one piece; with the stick in her left hand she quells earthly Passions, personified by a satyr bound to the ground. The griffins at the angles of this division are quite as original and fantastic as are the sphinxes in the first story of the candelabrum.

Above the altar-shaped division the square ground plan gives place to the circular; but there is no sharp break in the design since each division continues to be divided into four faces with projecting figures and ornamental motives between. So just above the four griffins four winged putti are seated at the base of the cylinder, on the surfaces of which are represented Simplicity, Fame, Religion, and Consolation. Consolation, which we see in our photograph, is personified by a woman dressed like a nun, who consoles a young man with promises of divine reward, signified by her upward pointing finger. The putti at the angles remind one again of Donatello; they are playing with a mask, a lyre, and other objects.

The vase-shaped division just above the cylinder is the most ornate part of the candlestick. There is no subject representation here, just ornamental figures and conventional designs: rams' heads, from which garlands depend; medallions, set in decorated frames; putti, coasting down the sloping body of the vase; and centaurs, whose arms are leafy forms terminating in volutes, whose hinder parts are of volute and leafy forms, and whose bodies are decked with garlands, beads, and conch shells.

The next division, resting on the rams' heads, is a small drum round which a bevy of putti dance and play. Ancient putti reliefs were loved by Renaissance artists, but Riccio must have been thinking particularly of Donatello's putti

reliefs; the circular pulpit at Prato is a close parallel.

Pure ornament covers, again, the final vase-shaped division that supports the cup out of which rises the thorn that holds the Easter candle in place. Cherubim, cornucopia, strings of pearls, garlands, eagles, and harpies are the chief decorative features of this division.

Nearly all the details of this magnificent work are paralleled by small independent ornamental bronzes made by Riccio and now preserved in many museums and private collections. To take examples from American collections, we may mention as a parallel to details in the relief of Music a statuette in the Frick collection of a nymph riding on a centaur who carries a syrinx in his hand; and as a parallel to the putti reliefs on the candelabrum, a frieze of putti that decorates a bronze lamp in the Morgan collection. In the Mackay collection is a bronze altar candlestick by Riccio, comparatively simple in design, with twenty-one nude figures supporting successive decorative tiers; even here, however, the remarkable inventiveness of the artist is evident in the variety of poses.

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Rizzo, Antonio (c. 1410-1498?)

Eve (p. 1483)

Marble. c. Life-Size

Venice, Ducal Palace

The powerful influence exerted by Germany and Flanders upon the art of northern Italy is well demonstrated in the work of Antonio Rizzo, a native of Verona, who is classed among Venetian artists because, after some work on the Certosa at Pavia, nearly his whole artistic career was lived out in Venice. His statue of Adam, executed for the Arco Foscari of the Ducal Palace in Venice, seems very German in its realism of body and pathos of expression; the Eve, that stands as a pendant to the Adam on the Arco, reminds one involuntarily of the epoch-making figure of Eve on the Ghent altarpiece (no. 513 c). And yet Rizzo's statue of Eve is consistently Venetian. This voluptuous, luxuriant type of woman is that which becomes standard in the paintings of Titian. As the blond tresses in which the great painter delighted were copied from the northern element in the Venetian population, so the shallow eye socket, straight mouth, sloping shoulders, narrow thorax, and prominent abdomen were based on the northern ideal of feminine beauty. The pose of Rizzo's Eve is reminiscent of the derivations from Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite (no. 130), at least one of which, the Venus de' Medici (no. 147) was familiar to the Italians at this time (since Venus' hydria was naturally omitted from a representation of Eve, some other support seemed necessary, and Rizzo used the tree-trunk device, in imitation of Roman marble copies of bronze originals). The gesture of the hands is given meaning by the fig leaf and the apple, which serve as symbols to identify the mother of mankind. It is noticeable that Eve does not bend forward like the Venuses to which she is related; she does not shrink, but stands erect, confident of her beauty and with a half smile of contentment on her lips.

Rizzo was apparently proud of this statue for he inscribed his signature in large letters on the base. Though a number of other sculptural works in Venice can be attributed to him on stylistic grounds, the Adam and Eve are the only ones the authenticity of which brooks no question. They were probably made after he had been commissioned to rebuild the Arco Foscari in consequence of the fire of 1483 - for Antonio Rizzo was architect as well as sculptor, and he held the office of protomagister of the Ducal Palace, the highest office an artist could then hold in Venice, from 1483 until 1498, when he had to flee the city because of an accusation of embezzlement.

Lombardo, Pietro (c. 1435-1515), and Sons

Tomb of Doge Pietro Mocenigo (1476-1481)

Marble. Figure of Doge, c. Life-Size

Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo

Of the many Lombard artists who came to Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century one of the most important was Pietro Lombardo (born in Carona), who with his sons, Antonio and Tullio, won commissions for some of the most important architectural and sculptural works of the time. When Antonio Rizzo had to flee from Venice in 1498, Pietro was appointed to succeed him as protomagister of the Ducal Palace (cf. p. 62). But the most pretentious commission of which he and his sons had complete charge from beginning to end was the erection and decoration of the splendid church of S. Maria dei Miracoli (cf. no. 615), the show piece of Venetian Renaissance architecture. It is like a jewel casket in its richness, encrusted inside and out with beautiful marbles and richly adorned with reliefs.

A few years before the building of S. Maria dei Miracoli Pietro, with the help of his sons and other assistants, executed the monument to Doge Pietro Mocenigo († 1476). This was a familiar field of activity for the sculptors: the great Venetians of this period vied with each other in providing splendid tombs for themselves, and many sculptors were almost exclusively occupied with such commissions.

Mocenigo's tomb is conceived as a triumphal arch through which the doge is being borne forward, on his chariot as it were, in a procession of victory. For one forgets that the rectangular object resting on the shoulders of three strong men - one young, one middle-aged, and one old (obviously a reference to the allegory of the three ages) - is a sarcophagus. No figure reclines above its richly ornamented gable; instead, the doge stands in full regalia like one receiving the plaudits of the multitude, and he is accompanied by two graceful little pages. On the front of the sarcophagus are two reliefs depicting specific events in the doge's career (his entrance into Scutari and his presentation of the key to Famagosta to Queen Caterina Cornaro); and allegorical references to his prowess are furnished by the statues of warriors in the side niches, and by the reliefs of armor and of the deeds of Hercules (slaying the Nemean Lion and the Hydra) in the basement. Only the attic, with its relief of the Maries at the tomb and its statues of the resurrected Christ and two angels, gives a religious character to the monument. Formerly there was also a statue of a saint at either end of the Easter Morning relief; these two statues are now placed on another tomb in the same church.

Mocenigo's tomb is of special importance in the history of early Renaissance sculpture in Venice. It illustrates well the Venetian modification of the architectonic type of wall tomb, derived from Florence (cf. nos. 647, 654, etc.). For here, instead of the strong accentuation of pilasters that one sees in Florentine buildings and tombs, the surfaces are broken up by niches filled with statues, so that the total effect is very pictorial. This pictorial effect is not a new development in Venice: Venetian palaces of the Middle Ages were finished with façades decorated by tier upon tier of arcades. This wall tomb represents in part simply an adaptation of the Venetian type of façade, as its parallels in Florence represent an adaptation of the Florentine type of façade.

Pietro Lombardo had been in Florence and had there been particularly attracted by the works of Antonio Rossellino and Desiderio. Other tombs of his show the influence of these artists more clearly than does the one dedicated to Mocenigo. But even here there are parallels with the Florentine style in general and with the work of Desiderio in particular. The decoration of the pilasters is of Florentine derivation, as is also the use of fluttering ribbons with the armorial bearings in the spandrels. More specifically, the little attendants that stand beside the doge on the sarcophagus are directly inspired by Desiderio's shield bearers on the Marsuppini tomb (cf. no. 655); and the head of the old shield bearer in the upper left niche might almost be a copy of the head of Christ in the relief of the Pietà that forms the predella of Desiderio's tabernacle in S. Lorenzo (no. 656).

The use of human figures to support the sarcophagus is not a Florentine

motive; it is probably a Lombard feature. The disposition of figures in niches is to be seen in Lombard work, for example, on some of the doorways of the Certosa at Pavia. The guiding spirit of the Certosa work, Amadeo, furnished prototypes, too, for the reliefs of the deeds of Hercules, in the socle of the Colleoni chapel at Bergamo (cf. no. 633). Thoroughly Lombard, too, and still strongly reminiscent of the Gothic, are the terminal statues of the Mocenigo tomb, Christ and the two angels.

Worthy to rank with these graceful angels is a beautiful marble statue of an angel, attributed to Pietro Lombardo, in the Mackay collection. A fine example of the decorative style of the Lombardo family is a doorway in the Marquand home at Princeton, which may have come from the Scuola di S. Marco (cf. no. 613) and is probably the work of Pietro himself.

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Lombardo, Tullio (c. 1460-1532) and Antonio (c. 1462-1516), and L.Bregno (?-1524)

Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin (c. 1495)

Marble. Effigy c. Life-Size

Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo

The most splendid tomb monument erected by the Lombardo atelier is that dedicated to Andrea Vendramin († 1478), who in spite of a despicable character had sufficiently influential connections to get himself elected doge and enough wealth to afford an elaborate tomb. That some critics consider this tomb the finest of Venetian monuments while others find only faults in its composition and its details is to be explained by the different attitudes with which the study of Venetian sculpture of the period is apprcached. One will get little enjoyment from Venetian art if one looks at it with prejudices engendered by the study of Florentine art. The deep character study, the significance of expression, and the determination and forcefulness of physical action which one comes to expect as a matter of course in Florentine art are not duplicated in Venice, where the purpose of sculpture, at least, was primarily decorative. But there are compensations: who has the hardihood to prefer the intellectual content of Michelangelo's Libyan Sibyl (no. 867) to the grace and lyricism of Giorgione's Venus (no. 919)! The statuettes of Virtues in the niches of Vendramin's sarcophagus and the candle-bearing angels that keep watch about his corpse may be weak and monotonous in movement and their expressions may suggest little character; but there is grace and rhythm in the movement and a lyrical quality in the expressions that make the figures in the niches seem more like classical Muses than Christian Virtues and that betray the classical derivation of all these figures.

The whole monument is an exposition of the potency of classical influence in Venetian art of the late fifteenth century (though Doge Vendramin died in 1478, the monument was not completed until 1495).

The second generation of the Lombardi had become far more classicizing than Pietro had been. His study of Florentine art had made it impossible for him to leave nature far behind. But his sons substituted idealism for realism, like Riccio (cf. no. 688), and the idealism, in both instances, is synonymous with classicism. The prime distinction of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo from Riccio lies in the fact that while the last drew his inspiration from the minor arts of antiquity, the brothers were inspired by monumental sculpture, apparently of the time of Augustus.

The similarity of the architecture to that of the ancient triumphal arch is even closer in the case of the Vendramin tomb than in that of the tomb of Mocenigo (no. 690). Corinthian columns on engaged pedestals support the lofty arch; the flanking pilasters and superposed frieze are richly adorned with arabesques; winged genii and playful putti are carved in relief on the basement. Reliefs of classical subjects (the Rape of Dejanira on the left, an episode from the Battle of the Greeks and Amazons on the right) fill the roundels above the side niches; portrait medallions are in the spandrels of the arch; and winged sirens hold up a wreath in which the Christ Child is displayed on the summit of the monument. This apparition of the Christ Child is not the only Christian suggestion on the tomb: in the lunette the doge is

being presented by his patron saint to the enthroned Madonna; at either side of the lunette are the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation; and figures of Adam and Eve once stood in the niches now occupied by the statues of warriors.

The monument was originally erected in the church of the Servi. When it was moved, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, to its present location, it lost a number of its sculptures. Then it was that the figures of Adam and Eve were taken from the niches. They came into the possession of the Duchess of Berry; the Adam is now owned by the Prince of Bourbon at Schloss Frohsdorf in Lower Austria; the Eve has disappeared. The figures of warriors that occupy the niches originally stood on the terminal bases, where we now see the draped female figures by Lorenzo Bregno, that are so out of keeping with the rest of the sculptures. The monument lacks also the two nude shield bearers that originally stood on the upper cornice; these are now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

Which member of the Lombardo atelier was responsible for the architectural framework of the Vendramin monument is very uncertain. Alessandro Leopardi, who cast Verrocchio's Colleoni statue (no. 673), used to be credited with the design of the whole Vendramin monument; but there is no ground for such an ascription; it now seems likely that this bronze founder has little or nothing at all to do with the monument. On the basis of signed works by Tullio and Antonio Lombardo it is possible, however, to attribute the sculpture to them - even to determine for most of it the parts that each did - leaving only the terminal female figures, that did not originally belong to the monument, to Lorenzo Bregno.

The Adam stood on a base inscribed with Tullio's signature; presumably Tullio made the Eve also, though the copy in the Palazzo Vendramin is too poor to judge by. The two warriors now in the niches are shown to be Tullio's by comparison with a signed relief in the Ducal Palace. The beautiful figure in the right niche is closely paralleled by a statue of a warrior (only the upper half of the figure is preserved) in the collection of Colonel Michael Friedsam, New York. Other sculptures of the monument that can be definitely attributed to Tullio are the Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation at the sides of the arch, the winged genii that support the inscribed tabula ansata in the basement, the Muses in the niches of the sarcophagus, the candle-bearing angels about the bier, and the terminal shield bearers now in Berlin. To Antonio are attributed the sirens and the medallion which they support, the portrait medallions in the spandrels, the larger medallions above the niches, and four reliefs in the basement - two large plaques with putti riding on sea animals, and two smaller ones with putti supporting pedestals on which stand Judith and Minerva. In the case of the Judith relief an interesting parallel has been pointed out with the reliefs of Agostino di Duccio (cf. no. 662) - such surprising relationships does one find when the details of a great work are closely observed.

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Sansovino, Jacopo (1486-1570)

Bacchus (1511-1514)

Marble. Life-Size

Florence, Bargello

Jacopo Tatti, of an old Luccese family, was the most important of the many pupils of Andrea Contucci (Sansovino - cf. no. 674) and was called, like his master, Sansovino. The artist who, next to Andrea Sansovino, exerted the strongest influence upon Jacopo was Andrea del Sarto, with whom Jacopo was bound by close ties of friendship from childhood. But more than any individual artist, ancient art furnished him inspiration. And, in spite of his Florentine and Roman training, Venetian environment was most congenial to him. Since Venice was his home during most of his period of activity, and since his influence was chiefly exerted upon Venetian artists, he is usually classified among these.

Jacopo Sansovino had already made his first visit to Rome when he sculptured what is probably his finest, and certainly his most famous, single work, the Bacchus, of the Bargello. It is almost purely Greek, not an imitation of any

classical statue but instinct with the classical spirit. This can best be appreciated by comparing the work with Michelangelo's version of the same subject, likewise in the Bargello. The general motive of the two statues is similar: each is accompanied by a satyr, each reaches down to a bunch of grapes with one hand and holds up a cup of wine in the other. But the conceptions are nevertheless entirely dissimilar. Michelangelo's Bacchus is conceived in the spirit of his David (no. 677), which is entirely Florentine and of the period; that is, it is realistic. And he has chosen the stage of intoxication in which the drinker is losing control of physical and mental powers: the step is unsteady, the hand that raises the cup trembles, the head droops heavily, and the eyes look stupidly and uncomprehendingly toward the cup, which is losing its charm as the appetite becomes satiated. Sansovino's Bacchus, on the other hand, is an idealized figure, with gently flowing forms and graceful curves worthy of a follower of Praxiteles. The stage of intoxication represented catches the drinker in the moment of most exultant joy that comes well ahead of the torpid reaction; he has perfect control of all his faculties, and he goes swiftly and lightly forward, holding high the brimming cup, toward which he looks with inspired, worshipful ecstasy.

This statue was made at the order of Giovanni Bartolini for his garden of Gualfonda, near Florence. It enjoyed immediate fame; everyone rushed to the garden of Gualfonda to see it, and it soon passed into the collection of the Granduca, whence, in 1880, it went to the Bargello. In 1762 it was injured by fire, and the fragments were put together with a plaster cast as guide, so that, fine as the statue now appears, it must formerly have given a far greater impression of liveliness and freshness.

693

Sansovino, Jacopo (1486-1570) and Pupils

Tomb of Doge Francesco Venier (1556-1561)

Colored Marbles. Effigy c. Life-Size

Venice, S. Salvatore

Like nearly all the successful artists of his day Jacopo Sansovino went to Rome, where, besides ancient art, the work of Michelangelo had special attraction for him. But his stay was cut short. With the sack of Rome, in 1527, he went to Venice, which became his home for the remainder of his life. His appointment, in 1529, as protomagister of St. Mark's proved a turning point in Venetian sculpture: though he had been trained in Florence and Rome, his art unfolded to its full bloom under the soft skies reflected in the lagoons. The style he developed contrasts with work of fifteenth century Venetian sculptors as Titian's paintings contrast with those of his fifteenth century predecessors. In Venice Sansovino's atelier grew into a veritable school. The many important commissions in both sculpture and architecture (cf. no. 616 for an example of his work in architecture) that came to him required the aid of many assistants, so that there is considerable inequality in the work that was put out under his name.

One of his most important Venetian commissions, the tomb of Doge Francesco Venier († 1556) gave an opportunity for the display of his ability as architect as well as his ability as sculptor. In both respects there is still evident in so mature a work the influence of his old master, Andrea Sansovino. The monument is in the general form of a triumphal arch, and the pillars, pilasters, and moldings are large in proportion to the sculptured figures. Polychromatic marbles further emphasize the prominence of the architectonic members; gilding is used sparingly in the sculptures.

The portrait of the doge is well characterized, though the height of the bier precludes thorough examination by the spectator standing below. More significant for the study of the style of Sansovino are the two allegorical figures in the side niches, Charity and Hope. Hope, at the right, is commonly likened to a figure of Justice by Andrea Sansovino, but to the Roman conception Jacopo has added a baroque sentiment: longingly, almost ecstatically, the beautiful woman looks upward, her hands gracefully crossed on her bosom. The gesture and the expression recall a painting of the Magdalene in the Pitti Gallery by Titian, whose maturity fell in the period of Sansovino's sojourn

in Venice. The Charity, although signed on the base, like the statue of Hope, IACOBVS SANSOVINVS SCVLPTOR ET ARCHITECTVS FLORENTINVS. F., was finished, perhaps entirely executed, by some pupil, but the design is presumably Sansovino's. Its model has evidently been the group representing Charity which was done by Jacopo della Quercia for the Fonte Gaia in Siena. The lunette relief of the Pietà was done by another pupil, Alessandro Vittoria (cf. no. 694). Vittoria followed the general design of the marble group of the Pietà by Michelangelo in St. Peter's, adding at the sides the kneeling figures of Doge Venier and his patron saint, Francis.

The luxuriance of the Venetian life of Jacopo Sansovino's day is reflected in the many bronzes of semi-useful character executed by himself and his atelier. The subjects for the elegant, richly carved, and highly polished pieces were drawn primarily from mythology. A beautiful example, which can be attributed to the master himself, is a pair of andirons, richly decorated with figures and ornamental motives, in the Mackay collection.

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Vittoria, Alessandro (1525-1608)

Bust of Ottaviano Grimani (c. 1571)

Carrara Marble. H. 2 ft., 8 in.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

As a result of Jacopo Sansovino's long activity in Venice it was chiefly the artists of northern Italy who fell under his influence. Alessandro Vittoria, born in Trent, came at the age of eighteen to Jacopo's atelier in Venice. Vittoria's feeling for classical art and his interest in Michelangelo began, or at least developed, under Sansovino's instruction. But enthusiasm for both the ancients and Michelangelo was in the air wherever one might go in Italy, and, although Vittoria never went to Rome or Florence, there were plenty of Michelangelo's followers in Venice and Padua. Besides, drawings, engravings, and models of Michelangelo's works were already broadcast: Vittoria himself had a model (as he believed - it was probably just a cast) of a foot of Michelangelo's Day (cf. no. 679 a). From Sansovino, Vittoria caught ~~one~~ THE ability to work in the spirit of the much admired masters rather than to imitate them, thus avoiding the mannerism of such sculptors as Bandinelli (cf. No. 680). In discussing Sansovino's tomb of Francesco Venier (no. 693) we had occasion to note Vittoria's dependence upon Michelangelo for the general composition of the Pietà. He probably had a drawing or engraving of the sculpture in St. Peter's (no. 675) to study. But he did not copy it slavishly; the effect is very different, more passionate, more baroque.

Among Vittoria's earliest works are a number of portrait medallions. It is not surprising, then, that among his later productions portrait busts should play an important part. One of the best of these portrait busts represents Ottaviano Grimani, probably at the time he was madeprocurator of S. Marco, in 1571, at the age of fifty-five. On the basis is inscribed: OCTAVI. GRIM. D. M. PROCVRATOR, and beneath a fold of the drapery is the artist's signature: ALEXANDER. VICTOR. F. The extreme tendency toward pictorial effect that we noted in the reliefs of Jacopo Sansovino's master, Andrea (cf. no. 674), has survived in the work of Jacopo's pupil. Even in Vittoria's sculpture in the round the pictorial conception is a very important factor. In a statue of the Virgin in the Ducal Palace, for example, the head cloth is brought far over the bowed head, so that the face is almost completely lost in shadow. In the case of the portrait of Grimani the hair, beard, and eyebrows give less the impression of being modeled than of being drawn with a pencil, and wrinkles are drawn with painstaking detail. Yet the total effect is as fine as that of a portrait by Tintoretto, who probably was, indeed, largely responsible for Vittoria's particular pictorial conception. It is interesting to compare with this bust by Vittoria the painting by Tintoretto of the same Ottaviano Grimani done about ten years earlier; or, among our own reproductions, we may compare it with Tintoretto's portrait of Cornaro (no 943), also of about 1560.

695

Amadeo, Giovanni Antonio (1447-1522)

Adoration of the Magi, etc.: Porta della Stanza del Lavabo (1480-1485)

Marble. H. c. 21 ft.

Pavia, Church of the Certosa

A Lombard sculptor who carried on his profession in his native locality was the Milanese Amadeo. His name is connected with most of the important sculptural and architectural projects of his day in Lombardy. The Certosa at Pavia and the Colleoni chapel at Bergamo were the scenes of his principal activities. We think of him particularly in connection with the Certosa, a veritable treasure house of sculptured detail.

A characteristic example of Amadeo's work at the Certosa is offered by the door opening from the right transept of the church into the lavabo of the monks. Amadeo's reliefs on this door, which was probably done some fifteen years after his earliest work on the Certosa, mark a transitional period in his career, a change determined primarily by the influence of the two Mantegazza brothers, who were working on the Certosa at this time. The mere name Mantegazza suggests a mass of crinkled drapery, so marked is this disagreeable mannerism of the two artists. Amadeo has not imitated their harsh, rude figure types but he has suggested their crinkled drapery in the clothing of God the Father in the tympanum, of the Carthusian monks in the spandrel medallions, of the figures in the Adoration scene in the lunette, and of the bishops in the niches at either side of the door. The faces, especially those of the bishops, have the strongly marked bony structure characteristic of Amadeo. The scene of the Adoration of the Magi is simple and charming, with a pastoral quality common in Amadeo's youthful work.

The rather stiff decorative motives of this door, as well as the relief portrait busts of the Duchesses of Milan and the semicircle of Virtues inside the archivolt are by some later artist who made his faces stiff and cold and arranged his draperies in awkward folds, frequently agitated as if blown by the wind.

696

Bregno, Andrea (1421-1506)

Tomb of Cardinal d'Albret (1465)

Marble. Effigy c. Life-Size

Rome, S. Maria in Aracoeli

Of Amadeo's compatriot, Andrea Bregno, born at Osteno on Lake Lugano, we have scarcely any information until he came to Rome about 1464. Here he worked some in collaboration with Mino da Fiesole (cf. pp. 513), but he had a large and thriving workshop of his own, for, though he had no great artistic genius, he understood how to manage a large corps of assistants and how to please distinguished patrons.

Bregno's finest work is the tomb of the French Cardinal d'Albret, or Lebretto, who died in 1465. The monument is of simple and dignified, yet elegant, design, divided, like the usual Florentine tomb monuments, into three stories, the first, which in Florentine parallels, is usually decorated with festoons (cf. nos. 647, 654, 655, 658), contains the long inscription, the second, the sarcophagus and effigy, and the third, the heavenly vision. The most noticeable dissimilarity to the Florentine parallels is in this top zone, where, instead of a single opening, or aureole, in which the Madonna appears, there are two windows, through which Sts. Peter and Paul look down upon the deceased cardinal. This arrangement is very illusionistic and pictorial in effect, for the background from which the saints emerge is an intense blue marble that suggests infinite space. In some of his later monuments Bregno collaborated with painters - Melozzo da Forlì probably helped him with a tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva. The finest details of Lebretto's monument are the

reliefs of saints that stand in simulated niches in the pilasters at the head and foot of the bier. These are Sts. Michael and Francis. The cardinal's hat and coat of arms form decorative designs at either end of the inscription.

The popularity of this tomb is indicated by the fact that two copies of it exist in Rome: one of these is in S. Maria di Monserrato, and the other is in S. Prassede.

697

Bambaia, Il (Agostino Busti) (1483-1548)

Detail of Tomb of Gaston de Foix (c. 1515-c. 1522)

Marble. L. of Bier, 7 ft., 1 in.

Milan, Archaeological Museum

A sculptor who carried on the style of the Lombardo family in Milan was Agostino Busti, called Il Bambaia. Nothing is known of the early life of this sculptor; not even the name of his master or masters. The sculptures that he left are evidence enough, however, of the excellence of his training.

Bambaia's great opportunity came when Francis I of France determined, after the capture of Milan for the second time (in 1515), to erect in S. Marta at Milan a great tomb to Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII and governor of Milan, who had lost his life at the age of twenty-two (in 1512) on the battle-field of Ravenna. Bambaia worked at the monument for seven or eight years. Whether he completed it is a disputed question; for with the destruction of the convent of S. Marta the monument was completely dismembered and the parts carried off to various places; so that our only idea of the original ensemble is furnished by a drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This drawing shows a draped bier surrounded by candelabra and raised above a large sarcophagus. The sarcophagus is decorated with reliefs, evidently depicting scenes of the young warrior's prowess, which are separated by pilasters upon which stand statuettes. The sarcophagus is in turn raised on double pilasters that are decorated with figures of Virtues, prophets, and apostles. And this was not all; for Bambaia made relief plaques for encrusting the walls of the chapel in the middle of which the monument stood. Many of the details of both the monument and the wall decorations are now to be seen in various collections.

By far the most important part of the great work, the effigy of Gaston de Foix, is, along with some less important pieces, in the Archaeological Museum at Milan. This effigy alone is enough to rank Bambaia as a sculptor of the first class. It reminds one of that beautiful effigy of Guidarello Guidarelli in Ravenna, which is apparently the work of a certain Severo da Ravenna, a follower of the Lombardo family of sculptors. Clothed in his armor and with a wreath bound round his head the handsome young Frenchman lies with his hands crossed over his beautifully tooled sword. Details of the armor and of the pillows that support the head are most delicately wrought, and the face is splendidly expressive of individual character while yet modeled broadly and simply. Vasari waxes enthusiastic in describing the monument: " . . . that work is such that I, gazing at it in amazement, stood for a while marveling that it was possible for works so delicate and so extraordinary to be done with the hand and with tools of iron; for there may be seen in that tomb, executed with the most marvelous carving, decorations of trophies, arms of every kind, chariots, artillery, and many other engines of war, and, finally, the body of that lord in armor, large as life, and almost seeming to be full of gladness, as he lies dead, at the victories that he had gained. . . . "

Shrine of St. Dominic

Sarcophagus, 1265-1267, by Nicola Pisano and Fra Guglielmo da Pisa; Cover and Left Candle-Bearing Angel, 1469-1494, by Niccolò da Bari; Right Candle-Bearing Angel and Sts. Proclus and Petronius, c. 1495, by Michelangelo; Base, 1532, by Alfonso Lombardo

Marble. H. c. 12 ft.

Bologna, S. Domenico

Bologna treasures a monument which represents the development of Italian sculpture from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the work of artists from northern, central, and southern Italy. The great pulpit in the cathedral at Siena (no. 634) was not yet far advanced when its author, Nicola Pisano, divided his attention for a couple of years between it and a commission for the church of S. Domenico at Bologna, where a sarcophagus was required to enshrine the bones of the saint whose name the church bore. Nicola had an assistant in the work, Fra Guglielmo da Pisa, whose share in the finished product has to be determined on stylistic grounds. Fra Guglielmo (c. 1240-c. 1310) was only about twenty-five years old when the shrine of St. Dominic was made, yet the quality of its sculpture is superior to that of even his later and most significant work, the pulpit at Pistoia. Nicola must therefore have designed the entire relief on the sarcophagus of St. Dominic; he may have executed parts of it also, but most of the execution is to be attributed to Fra Guglielmo, under the supervision of the older master. The style of the relief, which, like other work designed by Nicola, shows a dvelopmental variation, is intermediary between that of the Pisan pulpit (no. 633) and that of the pulpit at Siena (no. 634). The most obvious feature in which it differs from the work at Pisa and resembles that at Siena is the separation of the various scenes by figures rather than by architectural forms. Some minor details, as the representation of birds pecking at foliage, and the liberal use of contemporary costume, also place the shrine nearer the Siena pulpit than the earlier one at Pisa. The Madonna, Christ, two bishops, a monk, and an evangelist are the dividing figures. The reliefs depict scenes from the life of St. Dominic. On the front, which is visible in our photograph, we see, at the left, St. Dominic resuscitating a youth who has been thrown from a horse, and, at the right, the same saint proves the validity of Christian books by the fact that they can survive the ordeal of fire while heretical books are destroyed in the flames. The mosaic-like red and gold coloring of the background of the reliefs is still fairly well preserved. The white figures now stand out from it as if detached, but originally they too were colored so that they harmonized with the background. The rich coloristic effect is continued in the moldings above and below, where marbles with rich natural colorings are employed.

In 1469 Niccolò da Bari (frequently called dell'Arca from the great shrine in S. Domenico), another sculptor from southern Italy, was commissioned to prepare for the sarcophagus made by Nicola Pisano a richly ornamented cover. In 1473 the cover, or lid, was put in place but not all its statuettes had been completed. On the base of the lid are eight figures, nearly a third natural size: on the front are Sts. Francis, Petronius, Dominic, and Florian. The four Evangelists, in Oriental costume, stand at the angles above. Between two of them two angels approach the dead Christ shown raised from His sarcophagus and upright, as He appeared on the altar at the mass of St. Gregory (cf. p. 785); here He is without supporting figures. From this level garlands, putti, and dolphins lead up to the crowning figure of God the Father, a statuette that gives us a clue to the source of some strange characteristics in Niccolò's work. For though in certain respects this God the Father recalls such figures by Ghiberti as those in the scene of the Temptation on the baptistery doors (no. 644) and such figures by Jacopo della Quercia as the God the Father in the Creation scenes (cf. no. 641), a more striking parallel is Claus Sluter's Moses on the well of Champmol (no. 497 a). Niccolò had evidently been to Burgundy and France to get his inspiration for God the Father and some of the other figures on the Arca: the minutely delineated evangelists and the splendid St. Florian are especially suggestive of Burgundian influence. The evangelist shown at the right in our photograph recalls certain figures by Michel Colombe

(cf. no. 487). The garlands and their supporting putti as well as the frieze of angel heads below the evangelists furnish almost certain proof that Niccolò had studied the frieze on Jacopo della Quercia's tomb of Ilaria at Lucca (no. 640). The Florentine Antonio Rossellino (cf. no. 658) is suggested by the fluttering angel that approaches the dead Christ from the left. That this angel is standing while its pendant kneels is probably a reflection of the wonted composition of the Annunciation.

The candle-bearing angel that Niccolò made for the base of the Shrine shows how he clung to mediaeval peculiarities. A sweet faced, gentle, effeminate child, whose body is quite concealed by the heavy folds of drapery and who holds his slender candlestick with reverent care, this kneeling figure is frequently contrasted with its pendant by Michelangelo, which though one of Michelangelo's earliest works, is one of his finest, and also, because of its immediate accessibility and often satisfactory lighting, one of his most enjoyable. It is a passionate, strongly-built lad, whose muscular form is outlined through the drapery and who takes his cumbersome candlestick as though it were a battle standard, at the same time opening his mouth and knotting his eyebrows like one urging on his comrades in the fight. In these two figures the Middle Ages are contrasted with the Renaissance.

The two saints, Proclus and Petronius, that Michelangelo made for the shrine, are like the torch bearer in emphasis upon corporeal reality and force that contrasts with Niccolò's more ethereal forms. Proclus, on the back of the shrine, is a forerunner of Michelangelo's David (no. 677) in pose. St. Petronius is obviously based on Jacopo della Quercia's conception of that saint in the lunette of S. Petronio, though the later version is more sculpturesque, less pictorial than its prototype. Of the other six saints on this level of the shrine Niccolò made five and the sixth was made by a sixteenth century sculptor whose identity is now uncertain.

The delicately carved reliefs on the base of the shrine are signed by Alfonso Lombardo (1497-1537), who did them in 1532. This sculptor was a pupil of one of his maternal relatives of the Lombardo family (cf. nos. 690, 691) from whom he adopted his name, for his real name was Cittadella. He was born at Lucca, but shows closest similarities in his work to such artists as Begarelli (cf. no. 700). As a predella for St. Dominic's shrine he represented several scenes from the saint's life and, in the middle of the front, an Adoration of the Magi.

699

Mazzoni, Guido (1450-1518)

Pietà (1477-1480)

Painted Terra Cotta. Figures Life-Size

Modena, S. Giovanni

Six years before he began work on the shrine of St. Dominic, Niccolò da Bari executed for the church of S. Maria della Vita in Bologna a terra cotta group of the Pietà. Niccolò probably got his inspiration for this extravagantly passionate group from French tomb sculptures (cf. no. 496). It served as the model for a type of sculpture that soon became characteristic of Emilia. The most prominent Emilian representative of this realistic terra cotta sculpture was Guido Mazzoni, of Modena, who was a follower of Niccolò, though the latter is said to have had no direct pupils.

The Pietà that Mazzoni made for the hospital della Morte at Modena is now in the church of S. Giovanni; it is obviously based on Niccolò's terra cotta version of the same subject in Bologna, though Mazzoni's is less extravagantly tragic and more sincere. Mazzoni himself painted the figures, but repainting has wholly changed the original color effect, as the present disposition of the figures disagrees with the original arrangement; the group suffered a radical restoration in 1853.

The Virgin and St. John are the only figures of the group represented in traditional costumes; all the others wear the dress of Mazzoni's day. And all express the religious feeling of his contemporaries. Such scenes as this

Mazzoni could see in the enactments of the Passion on the occasions of religious festivals. In fact, he had in his early career been a designer of masks for various festivals. From such work it was a natural transition to the modeling of these terra cotta groups, which had an equally popular appeal. Our Pietà soon became an object of pilgrimage so that the hospital in which it had been placed was eventually accorded the right to grant indulgences.

Later Mazzoni carried his art to France. Unfortunately the tomb of Charles VIII which he made for St. Denis has been destroyed; with its bronze figure of the kneeling king it seems likely that this tomb would have shown a more dignified development of the sculptor than is indicated by the popular terra cotta groups.

700

Begarelli, Antonio (1479-1565)

Deposition from the Cross (1531)

Terra Cotta and Stucco. Figures Life-Size

Modena, S. Francesco

The work that Antonio Begarelli produced in Modena and neighboring towns shows what the popular terra cotta groups initiated by Niccolò dell' Arca in 1463 (see p. 71) became in the sixteenth century. Begarelli is sometimes designated as a follower of Mazzoni, but similarity of medium is about the only point of relationship between the two. Mazzoni made realistic groups, in which interest centered in particular gestures and expressions, rather than in the total effect; his groups have the spontaneity of real life. Begarelli's groups are ideal, rather than realistic; the effect is not spontaneous, but studied; and it is the total design that counts. Classical influence was partly responsible for this change of intention, just as it was responsible for the change in coloristic treatment. Begarelli used a thin layer of stucco over the terra cotta, and left this stucco white for the most part, using color only very sparingly and obtaining a polished surface approximating that of marble.

This suggestion of classical marbles is lost in the total impression of the work, however, through the pictorial character of the forms. For Correggio and, later, Raphael were Begarelli's real inspiration. In our group of the Deposition the momentary poses and the fluttering draperies belie the sculptural medium; they are legitimate only in painting. Certain figures, especially the Holy Woman at the right and St. Jerome, standing at the left, are reminiscent of Correggio (cf. nos. 958, 960). But we miss the charm of Correggio, which depends so much upon the soft chiaroscuro and enticing harmony of colors.

Even in his subject matter Begarelli betrays his tendency toward idealism. Like Fra Angelico's great Crucifixion (no. 768), the Deposition is conceived as a vision rather than as the actual event - symbolically rather than historically. For, though Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, with two assistants, are lowering the body, and the Virgin is swooning in the arms of the three Maries at the foot of the cross, there are four witnesses who were not contemporaries of the event: Sts. John the Baptist, Jerome, Anthony of Padua, and Francis behold the vision.

701

Laurana, Francesco (c. 1425-c. 1502)

Bust of Beatrice of Aragon (c. 1472)

Marble. H. 17 in.

Palermo, Museum

The Dalmatian-born Francesco Laurana carried the Italian Renaissance style into southern France, where he worked, particularly in Marseilles and Avignon,

from 1461 to 1466 and again from about 1476 to the end of his life. Yet the work that he left in France is not wholly Italian in style; for he was unusually susceptible to environment so that his style changed as he went from one place to another. Laurana must have been a practicing artist before he left Dalmatia; otherwise he could not have gone straight into the work on the triumphal arch of Alfonso I when he went to Naples about 1456 (cf. no. 629).

It was probably in 1466 that Laurana went to Urbino. The style of Piero della Francesca, whom he may well have met there, seems to have been particularly sympatisch to him and to have made a lasting impression. Laurana's portrait busts have that same impersonal air, that same dignity and reserve which characterize the paintings of Piero. The latter's portrait of Baptista Sforza (no. 796) finds a close parallel in Laurana's bust of the same duchess of Urbino, which is now in the Bargello. Probably both portraits were done in 1466.

There are a goodly number of portrait busts by Laurana, the derivation of most of which can be traced directly to southern Italy, where Laurana worked, especially in Naples and Sicily. Then there are several portrait masks obviously by the same hand that come from Southern France, where Laurana long worked. These masks were apparently made to be attached to busts by lesser artists. Some have supposed them intended for use on reclining grave figures, but the faces bear no more suggestion of death than do the faces of the portrait busts which they so closely resemble. The busts and masks are not signed, and their authorship cannot be determined by comparison with Laurana's signed medals because of the necessary dissimilarity of technique. But there is a branch of his authentic work to which they can be compared, the Madonna statues. Both the busts and the Madonnas are characterized by a demure, reserved expression, half-closed eyes, and a slight inclination of the head. In both groups the hair is lightly sketched, depending upon color for its further definition; color has been used also to bring out the designs of the costumes, and the features have been tinted in a manner peculiar to the sculpture of southern Italy.

Several of the busts and masks are by most critics believed to be portraits of one sitter, the princess Beatrice of Aragon (1457-1508), fourth daughter of King Ferdinand I of Naples. There is always room for disagreement in this matter, since Laurana seems to have been incapable or undesirous of sharply individualizing his portraits. Yet the striking resemblance between seven of the busts makes an identity of subject reasonable. These seven are respectively in the Dreyfus collection, Paris, the Palermo Museum, the Louvre, the André collection, Paris, the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, the Ryan collection, New York, and the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Their identification as Beatrice of Aragon is based on the preservation of an inscription on the Dreyfus bust which reads: DIVA BEATRIX ARAGONIA. This inscribed bust is probably the earliest of the series. But Beatrice was not much older when the Palermo, Louvre, and André busts were made. They all show her the young princess whose happy days were occupied with study and occasional participation in the hunt.

The Palermo bust is finer than those in the Louvre and the André collection, yet not so perfectly finished as the other four. One feels that the features are much generalized, but the very impersonality and the aristocratic bearing fascinate us as we are fascinated by the court portraits of van Dyck. The quality of the white marble with a dark veining is not a little responsible for the charm of the work; slight traces of coloring are now visible only on the dress, which is simply designed and in texture resembles the cap drawn over the hair and far down on the forehead. The style of coiffure, the hair brought low against the cheeks, tends to exaggerate the length of the face.

This bust was probably taken to Sicily by Beatrice's brother when he fled from Naples to the cloister of Mazzara.

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Laurana, Francesco (c. 1425-c. 1502)

Bust of Beatrice of Aragon (c. 1475)

Marble. H. of Whole Bust, 18 1/8 in.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

Princess Beatrice's carefree life soon gave place to a dreary existence. The fame of her beauty reached the ears of Matthias Corvinus, who had ascended the Hungarian throne the year of her birth (1457). The widowed king seems to have reached an understanding with the princess' father as early as 1472 or 1473, but the formal declaration of the nuptials did not take place until 1475. In 1476 the wedding was celebrated with great pomp in Naples and the bride departed to an unhappy, half-barbarous Hungarian home, whence she returned a widow and a broken woman, aged before her time, in 1501.

The Ryan and Berlin busts are probably nuptial mementoes. Both have richly carved bases, the one with centaurs, nymphs, and putti, the other with reclining female figures and putti. The latter scene finds a close classical prototype in a relief on a sarcophagus fragment built into the wall in the court of the Medici palace. On the front of each base is a cartouche from which a painted inscription has disappeared. The Berlin portrait is further enriched by elaborate brocading on the dress and an edging about the neck and shoulders of Cufic letters, such as formed a customary decoration for the Madonna's costume. All this decoration of the bases and, in one case, of the costume suggests the work of a goldsmith and reminds us that Laurana was a medalist of note. Traces of gilding are still visible in the borders of the dress, and the hair has obviously been colored.

The beauty of the carving of the costume design and especially the subtlety of the modeling of the head and neck of the Berlin bust, which places it at the apex of Laurana's achievement, can be appreciated in our fine photographs. Contemporary Florentine portrait busts (cf. nos. 657, 659) may surpass this in giving the impression of life and spontaneity, but this nevertheless remains, on the basis of technical perfection and charm of conception one of the finest female busts of the fifteenth century.

For a long time the Berlin bust was designated as a portrait of Marietta Strozzi and as the work of Desiderio da Settignano. This identification and attribution were based primarily on the fact that the bust came from the Villa del Boschetto, belonging to the Strozzi family. Now that Desiderio's manner is better understood and especially since the real bust of Marietta Strozzi by that master has been found (cf. no. 657), there is no longer any possibility of confusion. The derivation of the bust of Beatrice of Aragon from the Strozzi collection is perfectly intelligible: until the conclusion of his banishment in 1466 Filippo Strozzi lived in Naples, and after that time he kept in close relations with the court of Naples.

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